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STUDENTS FROM TWO HIGH SCHOOLS WERE SURVEYED TO GATHER INFORMATION ABOUT ALIENATION AND INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL. A LITERATURE SEARCH REVEALED A VERY LIMITED NUMBER OF STUDIES ON THE SUBJECT. BOTH TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES WERE USED FOR DATA COLLECTION. QUESTIONNAIRES USED WERE (1) FILL-IN, MULTIPLE CHOICE, AND FORCED CHOICE ITEMS, (2) LETTER GRADING OF SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS, AND (3) A NUMERICALLY SCALED AGREEMENT-DISAGREEMENT FORM. THE FINDINGS INDICATED NO EVIDENCE OF ANY LARGE-SCALE ALIENATION. STUDENTS APPEARED TO VALUE THEIR EDUCATION, HOWEVER, PRIMARILY IN TERMS OF INSTRUMENTAL PERFORMANCE AT THE EXPENSE OF SUBSTANTIVE INVOLVEMENTS. AN ACCEPTANCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WAS OBSERVED, BUT WITH A PREEMINENT DESIRE FOR GETTING THROUGH SCHOOL AND FOR GOING ON TO COLLEGE. LITTLE INTEREST WAS EXPRESSED FOR SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES WHICH THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM PRESUMABLY COULD AFFORD. (GC)

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Cooperative Research Project No. S-383

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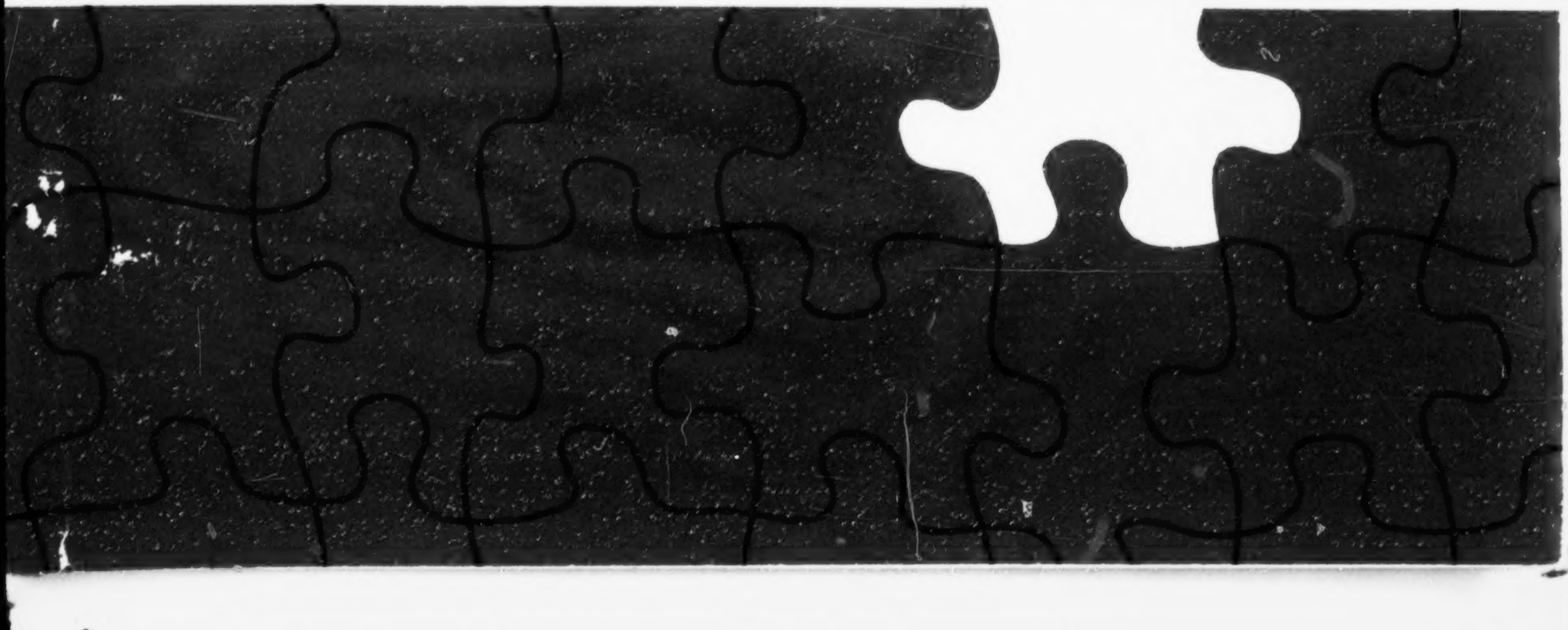

MEASURES OF CHILD INVOLVEMENT AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL PROGRAM

Final Report
of
Cooperative Research Project No. S-383

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1966

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by the Cooperative Research Program of the
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FOREWORD

Although I must assume responsibility for the writing of this report, and the conclusions of the final chapter are largely mine, the "we" used throughout the text is not merely editorial; it reflects the major contributions of my three co-workers to the actual research which I report. My colleague, Robert Williams, served as Research Associate on this project, and participated in all phases of the study; Richard A. Minisce, Research Assistant, interviewed, bore the brunt of interview dictation for transcription, and helped in the design of the questionnaire; and my wife conducted a number of interviews, helped in their analysis, and contributed more than she realized through her insight and support.

Joseph Szymanski and Daniel Linehan, undergraduate research assistants, managed the tedious business of questionnaire coding and tabulation with alacrity and accuracy; Mrs. Doris Corman contributed valuable information during the early stages of this project; Mrs. Lorraine Bone typed, coded, and proofread with her usual high competence; Mrs. Robert Saunders and Mrs. Leo Ametti transcribed our interviews with surprising fidelity; and Mrs. Pat DeBiasi did an errorless job typing the final draft, though some errors of mine have doubtless crept in. Rev. Charles F. Donovan, S.J., is to be thanked for supplemental financial assistance made available through the Boston College Faculty Research Fund.

It is unfortunate that we cannot acknowledge by name our various debts to members of the staffs of East, West, and Parochial High Schools; suffice it to say that their wholehearted cooperation was both indispensible to our work and symptomatic of the high professionalism of these schools.

Buford Rhea

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INTRODUCTION

This report describes a small study of a very large problem, the problem of educating young people in a bureaucratic setting. Bureaucratized education is problematic because modern theory suggests it is impossible: On the one hand, pedagogical theory insists that true education occurs only when students are involved in their curricular experiences, while organizational theory indicates that involvement is unlikely in the bureaucratized school; alienation rather than involvement is the typical response of organizational subordinates to the bureaucratic environment.

Given the obvious importance of this issue, surprisingly little empirical research has been devoted to it. The bureaucracy-education dilemma, though, will probably remain one of the central educational problems of this century: it is too important to be left, as it has been, to polemic and speculation. Much of the value of the present report thus lies in whatever contribution it may make to the meager stock of objective data that we now possess about the impact of formal organization upon the school experience.

The study is not an elegant one, nor was it intended to be. It is avowedly exploratory, which is to say that it is as little structured as possible without being utterly unfocused and thereby utterly inefficient. Our primary concern is with the clarification of the term "alienation," for, in spite of its usefulness, it remains one of the more ambiguous concepts of social science. A secondary concern is the testing of various hypotheses about alienation in the school. We could not narrow our conceptual focus by ex ante definition, for this would defeat the main purpose of the study; and we could not methodically test a broad range of hypotheses, since this would require a massive program quite beyond our present ambitions. In neither of our undertakings, then, have we been as scientific as might be wished; but in both we feel we have made worthwhile contributions.

The report which follows is divided into five chapters, roughly reflecting the sequence in which the work was done. The first chapter is a short discussion of the problem, elaborating the rather cryptic remarks of the opening paragraph above. The second chapter reviews the literature, while the third describes how our questions were formulated and our sample obtained. The fourth chapter is a report of the data we have collected, plus some commentary about its relevanc for existing literature. The final chapter attempts to summarize the major lessons of our research and suggests questions for further study.

CHAPTER I

The Problem

American education is organized education, but formal organization leads to consequences which may well be educationally undesirable. This, in the educational context, is the familiar "organization-versus-individual" dilemma which has attracted a number of social scientists in recent years, and it is also the "training-versus-education" dilemma which has interested educators for centuries.

Formal organization--bureaucracy--is a technique for using individuals to attain some collective purpose. The worth of the organization is measured by its efficiency in attaining an external purpose, and, the "Human Relations" school of administration notwithstanding, the consequences for the functionaries are of relatively little concern. An army is successful, for example, if it wins wars, though the consequences for its functionaries may be lethal, and much the same is true of such other familiar bureaucracies as industrial organizations, service firms, governmental offices, and the like.

An educational establishment, though, cannot take such a cavalier attitude toward its members, for its purpose is precisely the wellbeing of its functionaries.[1] In a sense it does not even have a "collective" purpose, merely a number of individual purposes that, presumably, can best be served in a collective setting.

For various historical reasons which need not be dealt with at this point, American schools have come to be organized along lines suggested by theories generated in military, industrial, and governmental settings, i.e., theories which do not give prominence to the welfare of subordinate members.[2] For various theoretical reasons, some of which will be discussed in a moment, this emulation of what may be called product organizations seems to have been a serious mistake.

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[1] Throughout this report we shall consider students to be members of the school organization, though there might be some objection that students are merely "clients" or "wards."

At the same time that American schools were being bureaucratized along industrial lines, educational thinkers were generating a pedagogy which emphasized the importance of dealing with the "whole child," an approach which took into account personality variables as well as task performances, the interdependence of all aspects of a child's life, and the indirect consequences of instructional tactics. Dewey and his followers also identified the social setting of education as crucially important, but they never got around to constructing a theory of educational organizations to compete with the existing theory of product organizations.

Had they done so, they would have had to deal with a number of problems confronting all organizations which attempt to change people rather than to elicit performances from them. Changing or improving people--"therapy" in its broader sense--is very different from commanding or directing them to accomplish external tasks; it is one thing to make a person do something, it is quite another to make him be something. Accordingly, one might suspect that therapeutic organizations would be quite different from product organizations. A few examples of the contrast between organizational behavior and therapeutic behavior should be sufficient to establish this point:

First, the behavior of bureaucrats is above all impersonal, sine ira et studio, and, adds Weber, "hence without affection or enthusiasm."[3] But it is a virtual law of social science that personalities are best shaped precisely through affective, enthusiastic, or "primary" contacts; and so it would seem that the more efficient the teacher or administrator in a formal bureaucratic sense, the less efficient is he in a substantive educational one.

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[2] Some of this history is recounted by Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Second, interpersonal relations in formal organizations tend to be restricted to those matters deemed relevant to the organization's purpose. As March and Simon put it:

> If we wished to sum up in a single quality the distinctive characteristics of influence processes in organizations, as contrasted with many other influence processes of our society, we would point to the specificity of the former as contrasted with the diffuseness of the latter.[4]

If the phrase "the whole child" has any meaning at all, it refers to a diffuse mode of treatment, i.e., to a mode the opposite of the bureaucratic one.

Third, the hierarchical structure of bureaucracies is a structure of subordination and superordination, with obedience and passivity characterizing the behavior of those toward the bottom of the pyramid. If it is granted that behavior shapes persons, then obedient, passive children are formed in this situation, an end-product quite different from that generally stated as an aim of education.[5]

Fourth, bureaucratic efficiency rests ultimately upon the

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[3] Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, edited and translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1947), p. 340.

[4] James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (N. Y.: Wiley, 1958), pp. 2-3.

[5] The theme of the regressive influence of organizations is treated at length by Chris Argyris, in, e.g., Personality and Organization (N. Y.: Harper, 1957).

ERRATA

Page 10, line 15:	"extrangement"	should be	"estrangement"
Page 14, line 6:	"bad"	"	"badly"
Page 16, line 14:	"connative"	"	(omitted)
Page 25, line 1:	"*via.*"	"	"*viz*"
Page 25, line 25:	"Adam Smith's"	"	"*Adam Smith's*"
Page 32, ftnt. 5:	"Friedenberger's"	"	"Friedenberg's"
Page 42, line 3:	"Appendix I"	"	"Appendix II"
Page 43, line 7:	"of"	"	"on"
Page 54, line 3:	"*praepare*"	"	"*praeparare*"
Page 60, line 13:	"casual"	"	"casual"
Page 73, line 19:	"extent the"	"	"extent that"
Page 80, line 18:	"such a say"	"	"such a way"

benefits derived from the division of labor and specialization, which, in turn, rests on the twin assumptions that repeated acts have equal effects and that the material acted upon is homogeneous. Human bodies may be grouped into categories identical on a few measures, but human personalities, especially through time, cannot be.[6]

Finally, and speaking of time, bureaucracies are planned, enacted, rationally constructed programs which explicitly assume that behaviors can be anticipated and which, through their authority and norm structures, insure that behaviors will indeed conform to expectations. But none of the processes of socialization--psychotherapy, education, rehabilitation--can be accurately predicted, and attempts to make these processes conform to any pre-specified course are likely to do more harm than good.[7]

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[6] For a review of the literature of this topic in the school setting, see: John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, The Nongraded Elementary School (N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1959). See also Nelson B. Henry (ed.), Individualizing Instruction, The Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); and Nelson B. Henry (ed.), The Integration of Educational Experiences, The Fifty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part III (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

[7] The foregoing discussion of contrasts between the bureaucratic and the therapeutic is taken in part from my unpublished paper, "Organizational Theory and Nursing Practice," presented at the Boston Work Conference on The Role of Nursing Service Administration in Staff Development at the Supervisory and Head Nurse Level, sponsored by the New England Board of Higher Education and the New England Council on Higher Education for Nursing, Fall, 1965. Other of Talcott Parsons' pattern variables could be mentioned (notably universalism-particularism), and his influence should be obvious here, but of special interest is his contention that task-performance and therapy differ through time: Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 38. A similar argument could be made for necessary differences between task and therapeutic settings.

In sum, there is good reason to suspect that bureaucratic organization and education are somewhat incompatible, and, to the extent that schools engage in such "therapeutic" forms of education as value-transmission, character training, and the like, to that extent are they handicapped by their very form of organization. It would, in fact, be possible to argue that the bureaucratic setting is not only inappropriate for such kinds of education, it may be the worst possible.

Be that as it may, considerations such as these led us to raise a number of questions about the relationship between formal organization and education, and these questions in turn led us to a consideration of the dimension which links the two processes, the alienation-involvement dimension.

If, for example, students were as alienated as their industrial counterparts are often presumed to be, then schools as currently organized could not hope to shape personality, and discussions of educating the whole child, citizenship training, character education, etc., would be rather pointless. On the other hand, though, if students were indeed involved in their curricular experiences, would such involvement be desirable? That is, given the bureaucratization of the learning experience, might involvement in it merely produce "bureaucratic personalities"?[8]

Issues such as these lie behind our present study. When we turned to the library for some answers to what seemed to us to be some rather fundamental questions, we were surprised to find virtually nothing in the educational literature, or at least nothing explicit, and very little in the social science literature.[9] Consequently we have undertaken the present research largely to generate data with which to help bring some conceptual clarity to a topic which badly needs it, and to make a beginning at applying the hypotheses of organizational theory and alienation to the school.

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[8] Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," _Social Theory and Social Structure_, revised edition (N. Y.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 195-206.

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[9] The literature dealing implicitly with the subject is, of course, enormous, with the works of John Dewey figuring prominently.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

"Alienation" is a term with a history, and consequently with a number of accreted meanings.[1] It was originally used in a religious context to signify man's separation from God, or perhaps from Man, and it continues to be used in somewhat this sense today by various philosophers and writers.[2] This condition of separation from God or some equivalent, though, is apparently seen as part of the basic human condition; so, for present purposes, it can only be taken as an invariant "given," not as a problematic event inviting sociological study.

Karl Marx first used the term in its modern social science role of empirical parameter.[3] By alienation Marx apparently meant a condition of estrangement from valued aspects of self, an unhappy condition resulting from, among other things, the capitalistic mode of production and the cash nexus. Marxist social scientists have regularly employed the term ever since, but only in the last decade or so has it acquired respectability in orthodox American circles. Unfortunately the concept is terribly difficult to define in anything like operational terms, so it has appeared in perhaps no more than a few dozen research works, of varying quality, to date.

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[1] Lewis Feuer, "What Is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," New Politics I (Spring, 1962), 116-134, reprinted in Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (eds.), Sociology on Trial (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Spectrum Books, 1963), pp. 127-47.

[2] Feuer traces the term back to Calvin, but the most influential statement was that of Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity (N. Y.: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), originally published in 1841. For a discussion of the relationship between Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx, see Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960. Originally published in 1941).

[3] T. B. Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel, Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy (London: Watts, 1956); Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (N. Y.: Frederick Ungar, 1961).

The present review will consider only selected publications from the educational and sociological literature which attempt to measure the term or to state it in quantifiable form. This means that most of the more impressive philosophical works will be neglected for the time being (some will be discussed in the Conclusion), and that the empirical literatures of psychology, institutional economics, and political science will not receive the attention they deserve.[4]

The Sociological Literature

One of the most straightforward translations of Marx's term is "estrangement" or "separation," and a commonsensical application of the term in empirical research would be to equate it with loneliness, social isolation, and similar conditions fairly easy to measure. A few writers have treated alienation as extrangement from community, "community" being used in its classic sense as that through which the individual is fulfilled by association with others.[5] Most of the research works employing this version of alienation, though, have badly trivialized it, for what was originally a sort of spiritual attenuation becomes, in various research instruments, merely a lack of friends (or sociometric choices), failure to vote, or even failure to receive mail.[6]

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[4] A broad sampling of the literature is provided by Eric and Mary Josephson (eds.), Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (N. Y.: Dell Laurel Books, 1962).

[5] Probably the best sociological treatise is: Robert A. Nisbet, Community and Power (N. Y.: Oxford University Press Galaxy Books, 1962). This was originally published in 1953 as The Quest for Community.

What seems to be the first publication of the current wave of research interest in alienation employs the term in this mode.[7] Specifically, Nettler defines the alienated person as "one who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries."[8] From interviews with a number of persons identified as alienated, he concludes that:

> The common ground beneath these estranged ones is a consistent maintenance of unpopular and averse attitudes toward familism, the mass media and mass taste, current events, popular education, conventional religion and the telic view of life, nationalism, and the voting process.[9]

Nettler then constructs a scale to measure these characteristics, but unfortunately, because of an error in sampling technique, it is impossible to see how his empirical survey proves the scale to be valid.[10]

Methodology aside, though, the most serious criticism that might be made of this article is that alienation from the values and attitudes of mass society does not appear to be the same as failure to be part of a "community"; indeed, one of the defining characteristics of mass society is precisely that no one is really involved in it, i.e., there is no true community in which to be involved. Thus one could just as well argue that accepting the attitudes and values of the non-community is a sort of alienation, and that those who reject these values are, if not positively involved, at least unenthusiastic about non-involvement.

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[6] For the latter, see Charles R. and Drollene P. Tittle, "Social Organization of Prisoners: An Empirical Test," Social Forces 43 (December, 1964), pp. 216-21.

[7] Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review 22 (December, 1957), pp. 670-77.

[8] Ibid., p. 672.

[9] Ibid., p. 674.

[10] Nettler located his 37 alienated respondents by asking his colleagues and acquaintances for leads, so the respondents naturally reflect Nettler's social circle: Ph.D's, M.D.'s, writers, and the like make up the majority of the sample. The "unselected" sample with which these alienated persons are compared seems largely drawn from the middle and working classes--armed forces personnel and their wives, labor union members, college students, P. T. A. members, etc. It is therefore impossible to tell if responses to such questions as, "Do you read Reader's Digest?" or "Do you think religion is mostly myth or mostly truth?" reflect differences in the populations sampled or differences associated with alienation.

Jan Hajda employs a definition similar to Nettler's, though his focus is more on subjective states:

> Alienation is an individual's feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflects his exclusion or self-exclusion from social and cultural participation.[11]

Unfortunately, about all that Hajda does is demonstrate that people feel "uncomfortably different" in the presence of people who are different from themselves.

To say that people feel different in the presence of others who are different is not to say much; and to say that they feel uncomfortable about it is to say little more. In sum, what Hajda is measuring here is antipathy for the out-group. Strong negative feelings about an out-group are usually associated with strong positive feelings about an in-group, but Hajda does not ask about feeling "comfortably similar" in the presence of similar people.

Thus both Hajda and Nettler neglect the fact that rejection of one social situation does not necessarily preclude involvement in another, and that perhaps a limited involvement in some group, however small or deviant, is quite as satisfactory as involvement in this society or in a number of groups.

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[11] Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review 26 (October, 1961), pp. 758-77. The citation is from p. 758.

John Clark makes this point when he criticizes Nettler's paper: "Man is differentially involved in society and participates in varying degrees of intensity in different social situations."[12] Clark then goes on to make a rather persuasive case for another interpretation of Marx's treatment, i.e., alienation is the result not so much of a *condition* of isolation, or whatever, but of the inability to do anything about it:

> Of the numerous definitions given to alienation . . . an isolable feature in all of them is man's feeling of lack of means (power) to eliminate the discrepancy between his definition of the role he is playing and the one he feels he should be playing in the situation. *Alienation is the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations.* Those who feel their actions meaningless would make them meaningful if they could, those who feel they do not belong would cause themselves to belong if they could, those who are manipulated would cease to be so, those socially or self-isolated would not be so if they were in position to change circumstances--provided that they have decided that their roles rightfully should be different.[13]

Perhaps because Clark concentrates on powerlessness, a curious error appears in the empirical portion of his study: He takes the *condition* of a discrepancy between actual power and legitimately expected power to be his measure of alienation rather than adhering to his own definition of alienation, i.e., the power to do something about such discrepancies. In consequence, what initially promised to be an unusual study turns out to be little more than one of several which take powerlessness to be identical with alienation. Clark's article does have the virtue, though, of stressing the fact that the individual must want power before he will feel bad about not having it.

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[12] John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within A Social System," *American Sociological Review* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 849-52. The quoted passage is found on p. 849.

[13] *Loc. cit.*

The most influential sociological article on alienation is Melvin Seeman's, which appeared in the same journal issue as Clark's article and which, because of its popularity, has probably obscured Clark's contribution.[14] Seeman undertakes to summarize the literature of alienation and to present, in a form suitable for empirical research, definitions of several varieties of alienation. His definition of alienation *qua* powerlessness is:

> . . . *the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks.*[15]

Seeking an outcome and seeking power are two different things, and so Seeman neglects what Clark did not (at least in his non-empirical discussion), i.e., the desire for power. That is, if the outcomes or reinforcements one seeks are occurring, why should one seek power? And especially, why should one seek power if he is not sure of his ability to wield it? These are questions that will appear later when we consider the powerless (and unskilled) youth in the beneficent school situation.

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[14] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-91.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 784. Italics in the original.

Seeman discusses four other ways in which alienation has been treated in the literature, providing in each case his own definition formulated in such a way as to lend itself to research:

> Meaninglessness: One might operationalize this aspect of alienation by focusing upon the fact that it is characterized by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made.[16]
>
> Normlessness: . . . the anomic situation, from the individual point of view, may be defined as one in which there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.[17]
>
> Isolation: The alienated in the isolation sense are those who, like the intellectual, assign a low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society.[18]
>
> Self-Estrangement: One way to state such a meaning is to see alienation as the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards.[19]

Merely citing these definitions does not do justice to the quality of Seeman's review, but such citation does bring out the major defect of the article: It attempts to conceptualize forms of alienation within a single theoretical framework, but the framework chosen is inadequate for the task.

The inadequacy can perhaps best be indicated by a quotation from the original source: "Social learning theory does not utilize a construct of the self or the self concept."[20] We cannot undertake in the space available here a detailed criticism of Rotter's social psychology, but its reliance on "tough-minded" experimental learning theory inevitably emphasizes quantifiable aspects of human behavior at the expense of the qualitative. The experience of alienation, though, has traditionally been presented as a quality of man's relationship to his environment, and so it would seem that Seeman has chosen a particularly uncongenial theory for his specification of this particular concept.

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[16] Ibid., p. 786. In this and the following three citations, I have introduced each citation with the italicized term which the passage defines; otherwise the diction and punctuation are Seeman's.

[17] Ibid., p. 788.

[18] Ibid., pp. 788-89.

[19] Ibid., p. 790.

The effect is noticeable in works which take Seeman's article as their point of departure. Dwight Dean, for example, guided by Seeman, measures alienation qua powerlessness by such questionnaire items as: "There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major or 'shooting' war."[21] Such questions elicit reports of perceptions of the situation, not necessarily qualitative feelings or connative evaluations.

Something of the same thing occurs when Russell Middleton reports on his study of alienation among Florida Negroes compared with Florida whites.[22] Powerlessness is measured by response to the statement, "There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today," which is of course a pretty accurate factual statement of the Negro's position in Florida. And anyone familiar with Southern channels of mobility would be surprised if

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[20] Julian B. Rotter, Social Learning and Clinical Psychology (N. Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1954), p. 239.

[21] Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review 26 (October, 1961), pp. 753-58.

[22] Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race, and Education," American Sociological Review 28 (December, 1963), pp. 973-77.

Negroes did not assent to the statement, "In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right," which is Middleton's measure of Normlessness.

Our objection to this sort of thing is that such questions confuse the independent and dependent variables; i.e., if the power situation is thought to influence alienation, and if alienation is measured by ascertaining the respondent's perception of the power situation, then about all that a high correlation would indicate would be that the respondent accurately perceives the situation. In short, such items as those cited may be merely measuring the same thing twice.[23]

More persuasive are such items as, "We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life" (Dean), or "Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on" (Middleton). These questions qualify as projective test items and apparently tap personality dimensions theoretically separable from perceptions of the immediate situation.

One of the most determined efforts to avoid confusing dependent and independent variables is that of Turner and Lawrence who developed separate measures of the actual conditions of work and the perceptions of workers about those conditions, as well as other responses.[24] Robert Blauner similarly attempts to link the structural conditions of the industrial setting to such generalized reactions as boredom with the job.[25] Unfortunately Turner and Lawrence discovered that sub-cultural variations upset their organization-specific hypotheses, though in an instructive way, i.e., they found that predispositions or orientations toward work varied between city and small town, and that these variations greatly influenced how workers responded to similar work conditions.[26]

---

[23] Feelings are often defined by reference to the situation eliciting them, and to speak of feelings of powerlessness, etc., seems legitimate; but cognitive perceptions of powerlessness need not be associated with any particular subjective states at all. Throughout this paper we will assume that alienation refers to something other than the objective situation, otherwise there would be no need for a separate concept.

[24] Arthur N. Turner and Paul R. Lawrence, Industrial Jobs and the Worker (Boston: Division of Research, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1965).

Rose Coser deals with this problem of the fit between work and worker orientation by ascribing alienated responses among nurses to a disconjunction between professional goals which are rewarded (healing) and nursing duties which do not lead to such goals (care of chronic or terminal cases).[27] Among the nurses of "Sunnydale" who care for chronic patients, means-oriented behaviors are given prominence since valued ends are unattainable, and responses suggesting a number of kinds of alienation were evident:

> Sunnydale nurses are alienated because they are *powerless* to implement a significant goal. Unable to obtain gratifying results from their work, they find it *meaningless* and so cannot use it to fashion a meaningful self-image. Not being able to express their social identity in their work, they are *self-estranged* in the work situation. Consequently, they become estranged from their social field and see themselves as *isolated* individuals. It will become clear in what follows that Sunnydale nurses work under conditions that also isolate them physically from other professional

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[25] Robert Blauner, *Alienation and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

[26] A similar finding is reported by Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., Arnold Meadow, and Susan Lee Zurcher, "Value Orientation, Role Conflict, and Alienation from Work," *American Sociological Review* 30 (August, 1965), pp. 539-48.

[27] Rose Laub Coser, "Alienation and the Social Structure," *The Hospital in Modern Society*, ed. Eliot Freidson (N. Y.: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 231-65.

> groups--a condition which contributes to the *normlessness* of behavior in the form of retreatism. *Alienation*, it seems, is a *syndrome* composed of all the elements that Seeman has carefully defined.[28]

Most of Coser's verification consists of an ingenious analysis of interview and similar unstructured materials, and so her study does not suffer from the restrictions implicit in Rotter's theoretical framework; far from it, Coser gives heavy emphasis to such factors as value-orientations, self-image, etc. Like most students of this topic, though, she assumes that powerlessness to implement a goal means that the goal will not be implemented--a legitimate assumption in the specific situation which she investigated but which, as shall be developed later, must be questioned in the school situation.

Leonard Pearlin, also studying nurses, makes much the same identification of powerlessness and failure to implement values: "Alienation, as we define it, is a feeling of powerlessness over one's own affairs--a sense that the things that importantly affect one's activities and work are outside his control."[29] But, and here Pearlin significantly departs from most writers by reviving Clark's notion of "legitimate" expectations, what if power is not sought?

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44. The question of whether or not alienation is a "syndrome" will not be pursued with any particular energy in this report, though it is dealt with in numerous articles including many discussed above. See also Arthur G. Neal and Salomon Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," *American Sociological Review* 28 (August, 1963), pp. 599-608; but see also Desmond S. Cartwright, "A Misapplication of Factor Analysis," *American Sociological Review* 30 (April, 1965), pp. 249-51. It is our feeling that if alienation is a dimension, then any discussion of the dimensions of this dimension must be no more than a discussion of inadequate attempts to measure it. If it is not a dimension, then there is no need for the concept; one should merely substitute the dimensions which are at present subsumed under the term. If it is a syndrome, presumably all the constituent conditions should appear together, but there are a number of research reports indicating that this does not happen.

[29] Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," *American Sociological Review* 27 (June, 1962), pp. 314-26. The quotation is found on pp. 315-16.

> Evidently those who regard authority with deference and awe do not seek a voice in their own affairs; they are willing to have their superordinates speak for them. . . . Instead of being alienated from something they want, such individuals are likely to experience pre-emptory authority as part of a natural and just order.[30]

Deference or awe is measured by an "obeisance" scale, while alienation is assessed by four items which measure both feelings of powerlessness and "an overtone of resentment at being deprived by outside forces of greater control over one's own work."[31]

Alienation in the School

Of studies of alienation in the school, that conducted by David Mallery for the Educational Records Bureau of the University of the State of New York has proven most valuable.[32] The book consists largely of a number of "fragments" from interviews conducted with students at eight high schools, and Mallery's summary is entirely impressionistic. In spite of the fact that no quantitative data is presented, the book provides a candid survey of the range of student opinions about the school experience and greatly supplements our own interview material. Among numerous concerns voiced by students, Mallery feels that meaninglessness and a ritualistic over-concern for marks are among the most important--both possible varieties of alienation, though Mallery does not use the term itself.

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[30] Ibid., p. 318.

[31] Ibid., p. 315. The theme of resentment, or, more specifically ressentiment, will be further explored below. For additional discussion of the obeisance scale, see Leonard I. Pearlin and Morris Rosenberg, "Nurse-Patient Social Distance and the Structural Context of a Mental Hospital," American Sociological Review 27 (February, 1962), pp. 56-65.

[32] David Mallery, High School Students Speak Out (N. Y.: Harper, 1962).

Edgar Z. Friedenberg has concerned himself much more with the specific topic of alienation, but unfortunately his publications can be taken as empirical only in the loosest sense of the word, i.e., as reflecting his own experiences; the objective portions of both of his major works are vulnerable to such serious criticisms that they must be rejected.[33] Accordingly, although we acknowledge a debt to Friedenberg's thinking, his work need not be discussed in a review of this sort.

David C. Epperson has presented the most scrupulously objective study of alienation that we have found in the specifically educational literature.[34] Electing to study two forms of alienation--feelings of powerlessness and feelings of isolation--he attempts to link them with conditions in the classroom environment, notably exclusion or rejection by teacher and peers, and then measures academic performance as his ultimate dependent variable. As is so often the case, though, his results may be criticized on methodological grounds. When, for example, he measures "task powerlessness" by a question asking, "Compared with others in this class, how good are you at doing the kinds of work this class does?" and then relates this to academic performance, our familiar criticism that he is merely measuring an accurate perception of the situation once again applies.

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[33] Edgar Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent (N. Y.: Dell Laurel Books, 1959); Coming of Age in America (N. Y.: Random House, 1965). In the former work sentence-completion items are employed, but the criteria by which they are interpreted are not made public; in the latter, similar projective empirical materials are presented, but though some of the bases for evaluation are discussed, the answers are quite susceptible of interpretations quite the opposite of Friedenberg's.

[34] David C. Epperson, "Some Interpersonal and Performance Correlates of Classroom Alienation," School Review 71 (Autumn, 1963), pp. 360-76.

The fundamental defect in this article is Epperson's uncritical acceptance of Seeman's definitions, stressing, as they do, the cognitive:

> The two forms of alienation--isolation and powerlessness--are proposed as characteristics of the pupil's cognitive world that accompany exclusion from important sources of classroom interpersonal support.[35]

Consequently associations between powerlessness and performance can largely be explained as measurements of the same thing, and associations linking exclusion and isolation can be explained by the more parsimonious hypothesis that those who disagree with group norms are not likely to be chosen on sociometric surveys.

Two sociologists have done studies of the school which warrant special consideration. First, Donald Ball has suggested that powerlessness may lead to ressentiment, a syndrome which he describes as "an inversion of particular values held by the object of hostitity, thus via this inversion implying a degradation of the individual(s) holding them."[36] Specifically, Ball found that political apathy among some students should not be taken at face value, but could best be interpreted as a covert rebellion against the father. Rebellion takes this covert form because of the powerlessness of the students to express their hostitity directly.

The direct expression of hostility is the focus of a study by Arthur Stinchcombe, the only major study dealing with alienation in the high school which has come to our notice.[37] Stinchcombe sees much high school misbehavior as symptomatic of "expressive alienation," and the alienation which is so expressed is seen as stemming from a lack of articulation between the curriculum and the realistic occupational expectations of some students. The anomie induced by the structure of the school denies certain students any realistic hope of achieving status through educational channels, and so they tend to make direct claims for adult symbols of status, e.g., cars, smoking, etc. Such symbols are denied them, though, by the school, and this denial leads to overt expressions of discontent, i.e., rebellion.

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[35] Ibid., p. 362.

[36] Donald W. Ball, "Covert Political Rebellion as Ressentiment," Social Forces 43 (October, 1964), pp. 93-101. The definition is found on p. 95.

[37] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Rebellion in a High School (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964).

Stinchcombe does not attribute all rebellion to alienation, nor does he discuss all types of alienation:

> The contention here is that "rebellion" is a manifestation of "expressive alienation," and that high school rebellion has an emotional quality of hatred or sullenness. Other deviant behaviors may have the emotional quality of cynicism, or indifference to rules, or ignorance of correct behavior. Cynicism, indifference, indignation, or ideological disagreement with norms are other forms of alienation, different in emotional tone. The adjective "expressive" should connote some of the special quality of alienation from high school authority, especially its responsive, non-ideological, unorganized, and impulsive character.[38]

The author then goes on to depict high school rebellion as "part of a complex of attitudes toward psychologically present authority, characterized by non-utilitarianism, negativism, short-run hedonism, and emphasis of group autonomy."[39] The bulk of the book is devoted to a meticulous and ingenious empirical analysis of the co-variants of rebellion, an analysis which generally substantiates Stinchcombe's original contentions. We have found this work, as Mallery's, especially useful for our own research, we have incorporated many of Stinchcombe's indicators, and we shall have occasion to refer to this book in later parts of our report.

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

There are other publications which might be discussed here, and there are doubtless some that have escaped our attention, but the present survey should be sufficient to indicate the general shape of the literature, some of its common themes, and some of its recurrent errors.[40] These matters will now be considered.

Summary

Most of the shortcomings of the publications mentioned above can be traced to the empirical nature of the studies, for, although the conceptualizations of alienation are often quite sophisticated, the actual measures employed usually exhibit some major defect. Particularly, attempts to operationalize the concept of alienation often take the form of casting it into purely *cognitive* terms.

One consequence of this is the ease with which so many authors fall into the error of measuring the independent variable twice. Another error is similar, via, measuring it only once. In the latter instance alienation comes to be defined as synonymous with the situation in which it is presumed to occur.

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[40] Some other empirical reports are: J. L. Simmons, "Tolerance of Divergent Attitudes," *Social Forces* 43 (March, 1965), pp. 347-52; Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," *Social Forces* 38 (March, 1960), pp. 185-89; Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," *Social Forces* 38 (March, 1960), pp. 190-95; Arnold M. Rose, "Alienation and Participation: A Comparison of Group Leaders and the 'Mass'," *American Sociological Review* 27 (December, 1962), pp. 834-38. For further information on industrial studies, see Robert Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," *Labor and Trade Unionism*, ed. Walter Galenson and Seymour M. Lipset (N. Y.: John Wiley, 1960), pp. 339-60. Two useful studies of political behavior are: William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), and Murray Levin, *The Alienated Voter* (N. Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960). Erich Fromm's works are the most pertinent from psychology, but see also the Symposium on Alienation and the Search for Identity, *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 21 (1961).

It is of course an acceptable practice to define an emotion in terms of the social situation which evokes it,[41] but to restrict oneself to describing the situation overlooks the possibility that no emotion at all may be evoked. And, even assuming that some feeling is indeed evoked, there can be no assurance that feelings are the same for all persons exposed to the same situation: One man's meat is another's poison.

Finally, even if one assumes that similar social settings evoke similar feelings, this is not at all to say that the feelings are similarly evaluated. An objective situation of powerlessness, for example, may result in widespread feelings of powerlessness, but, as Pearlin implies, these feelings may be thought of as quite normal and proper, i.e., they need not be evaluated as bad or even unpleasant.

In short, over-emphasis on the cognitive leads to a neglect of the cathectic and evaluative modes.[42]

Five problems appear in the literature which may be posed at this point, with comment reserved for our Conclusion:

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[41] "As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation. . . . Sympathy, therefore, does not arise so much from the view of the passion as from that of the situation which excites it." Adam Smith's Moral and Political Philosophy, ed. Herbert W. Schneider (N. Y.: Hafner, 1948), pp. 73 and 76.

[42] On these three modes of orientation, see Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Toward A General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 67-76.

(1) Is alienation a syndrome? As already mentioned, there is a good deal of debate about this point in the current literature, but such debate generally appears when the debatable term has been poorly defined. In the conclusion of this report we shall argue that alienation is not a syndrome.

(2) Is alienation holistic? That is, is the alienated person totally alienated from his total environment? It is a good rule of thumb in exploratory research never to make assumptions which may influence one's findings so we will assume that individuals may experience varying degrees of alienation from various aspects of their environment. If alienation is a total orientation, it will appear as equal alienation from all environmental events. In our conclusion we will argue both sides of this issue.

(3) What are the behavioral indicators of alienation? We shall have to rely on questionnaire and interview responses for our data, but others have used absenteeism, disobedience, psychosomatic complaints, and the like as indicators of alienation. In our conclusion we will argue that there are no sure-fire symptoms of alienation, though some are preferable to others.

(4) Can one be alienated without knowing it? This issue appears only implicitly in the empirical literature, but it is clearly central to any serious discussion of the term. We shall argue that it is possible to be alienated without knowing it, though not knowing it has certain independent effects of its own.

(5) Is alienation bad? Certainly the general implication is that it is, but we shall argue that under some conditions involvement is worse.

Probably the most important conclusion than can be drawn from our survey of the empirical literature is that there is simply not enough of it. There are no really major studies of alienation in any setting, and, with the possible exception of Stinchcombe's dissertation, the few pieces about alienation in the school are quite minor. The present study, then, can be justified on the basis of its contribution to our meager fund of data about this theoretically crucial phenomenon. We hope that it can also be justified on other grounds.

CHAPTER III

Method and Sample

Since our primary aim in this study was to clarify the concept of alienation by bringing empirical material to bear upon it, we attempted to include as large a variety of topics in our study as was feasible. We also wanted to include a variety of data-collecting techniques, but practical considerations forced us to limit ourselves to interviews and questionnaires. Finally we attempted to avoid some of the errors we had detected in our review of the literature, though our desire for comparative data sometimes made this impossible. We have cast a broad net, and, considering the limited resources employed, we feel that we have generally succeeded in our purposes, though inevitably there are other sorts of data we would have liked to have obtained, and there are other lines of inquiry we might have pursued.

The present chapter is divided into four sections. The first discusses the nature of our questions, particularly the rationale behind the form in which they were put. The second section briefly describes how we formulated our interview schedule, the third does the same for the questionnaire, and the last section describes our sample.

The Nature of the Questions

At the outset we were faced with two conflicting requirements met in most research of this sort: On the one hand we wanted to get as great a variety of information as possible, but on the other hand we had to do it within a limited budget and time. We concluded that a small number of short interviews would allow us to explore major topics in some depth, and, with Mallery's report as supplement, help us focus on the most important aspects of alienation and involvement for high school students.[1] We also decided to limit our questionnaire to such a size that it could be administered in a single classroom meeting.

The phrasing of the interview schedule posed no particular problems: We merely listed a series of questions to ask, and relied on probes and the respondents' own interests to provide us with the materials we sought. The questions and probes focused on matters which we suspected were of major relevance, but beyond that we attempted to keep the interviews unstructured.

Questionnaire items were more difficult. First we discovered that only a restricted number of *types* of questions could be employed, for when we experimented with a variety of types in the same questionnaire our respondents spent too much of their time reading instructions and were too likely to misinterpret the questions. We also found that some of the most elegant devices for obtaining information were simply too complicated in practice, and so we held ourselves to more familiar formats.[2]

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[1] David Mallery, *High School Students Speak Out* (N. Y.: Harper, 1962).

[2] A preliminary version of our questionnaire was given to 97 undergraduate students at Boston College. The final version, with format somewhat altered to allow responses to be included, is reproduced as Appendix II of this report.

The resulting types of questions apparently presented no problem for our respondents: Fill-in, multiple-choice, and forced-choice items were known from prior test-taking, the assessment of school characteristics by assigning them a letter grade was quite within the general framework of students' experience, and only the scaled Agreement-Disagreement questions may have led to some minor trouble because the same pole did not always indicate the same general orientation.

The Agreement-Disagreement questions are also somewhat ambiguous in that it is not immediately clear just what is meant by marking a particular number on the scale, i.e., the mark could indicate the accuracy with which the statement reflects the student's own feeling, or it could indicate the intensity with which the feeling is held. This defect is not as serious as it might seem, though, for the content of the question itself usually indicates the sort of orientation being tapped. In addition--and this is the main reason why we chose this particular form of question--items of virtually any sort can be phrased as statements like these, and cathectic and evaluative content can be included as easily as cognitive content.

One of the more serious defects of questionnaire items in the studies surveyed in Chapter II was the intrusion of cognitive elements into domains of affect and value. One way to minimize this intrusion is to select items from the objective environment which are ambiguous, or to phrase the questions so as to make them ambiguous, and then treat variations in response as subjective variations. Most of our questions may be considered "projective" in this sense, for, in addition to the fact that the environment is roughly the same for all concerned, we have phrased most of our questions in relative terms (e.g., how "reasonable" an event is, whether it is "too much" or "too little," etc.) or directed them toward matters which do not lend themselves to accurate cognition (e.g., "A person can always find friends at this school if he wants to").

The Interview Schedule

The particular questions of our interview schedule were formulated with an eye to the general dimensions of alienation and involvement discussed in the literature.[3]

> Question 1: How do you like East High? What are the best things about it? The worst? If you were in charge, what would you change?

This question was a fairly traditional open-ended item, but it also turned out to be an excellent measure of what the students thought possible by way of changing the situation; it served to identify their general frame of reference as well as those matters which they were most ready to discuss. We had originally intended it to be a "warm-up" question, but we discovered during the actual interviews that question 2 served that purpose best.

> Question 2: What do you plan to do when you graduate? (How sure are you? Is this what you would like to do?)

Because of the emphasis put on the articulation between expectations and school experience by, among others, Stinchcombe, this question was introduced to measure the major independent variable, personal goals.[4] It was also intended to give us more insight into just what students meant when they checked questionnaire items purporting to identify goal commitments, for our reading of Friedenberg and others raised serious questions in our minds about the validity of such items.[5]

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[3] The interview schedule is reproduced below as Appendix I.

[4] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Rebellion in a High School (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964).

> Question 3: Are the courses you are taking here helpful; do they advance you toward your goals? Are there any additional courses you would like to take? Any you would rather not?

With this question we attempted to link goals and curriculum by way of exploring the "articulation hypothesis," or alienation qua meaninglessness. A statement of desired courses also provided some insight into students' needs which were not met by the school.

> Question 4: What is a good class like? Describe an ideal one. A poor one. What do you actually do when you are involved in a course? (Outside reading, etc.?)

This question combines two interests. First, a description of an actual class can provide information about the student's orientation to the situation, and indeed the question is a paraphrase of one that Rose Coser put to her nurses.[6] Following Coser, we hypothesized that alienated students would be means-oriented in their descriptions, while involved students would describe their classes in terms of curricular content, i.e., their substantive purposes. The second part of this question, "What do you actually do . . . ," is an unstructured stab at the involvement pole of the alienation-involvement dimension, a pole for which we have few indicators other than the simple negatives of alienation items.

> Question 5: What does it take to succeed here? How can a student get in trouble? How do you go about scheduling your time, balancing course requirements, etc.? Do you work for the grade or for knowledge?

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[5] In addition to Friedenberger's works, mentioned in our previous chapter, Paul Goodman has discussed the issue of aimlessness among adolescents in Compulsory Mis-Education (N. Y.: Horizon Press, 1964) and Growing Up Absurd (N. Y.: Random House Vintage Books, 1962).

[6] Rose L. Coser, "Alienation and the Social Structure: Case Analysis of a Hospital," in Eliot Freidson (ed.), The Hospital in Modern Society (N. Y.: Free Press, 1963), pp. 231-65, esp. pp. 234-39.

The several questions combined here have in common the element of technique, and we were looking for three things in the answers. First, we assumed that students were not equally alienated or involved in all aspects of the school, so we hoped that this question would help us identify the more important environmental factors. Second, we suspected that students constructed subjective "budgets" of alienation and involvement, i.e., that differential involvement was not a matter of accident but, on the contrary, reflected some underlying strategy. Finally, the last question forced the issue on what Mallery and others had identified as perhaps the most important mechanism of alienation, the conversion of means into ends.

> Question 6: Do your courses bring out the best in you? Are they challenging, boring, or interesting? Is there enough variety? Are the courses sufficiently related to each other? When do you get a feeling of accomplishment?

These questions, largely inspired by Blauner's industrial study, aim primarily at the affective component of the curriculum-student encounter.[7] The question on the relatedness of courses is derived from A. N. Whitehead's famous remarks about the structure of the modern curriculum.[8]

> Question 7: How much freedom should a student have? How does this school compare? (Be specific about time schedules, homework, required readings, discussion in class, student government.)

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[7] Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1964).

[8] "There is only one subject-matter for education, and that is Life in all its manifestations. Instead of this single unity, we offer children--Algebra, from which nothing follows; Geometry, from which nothing follows; Science, from which nothing follows; History, from which nothing follows; a Couple of Languages, never mastered; and lastly, most dreary of all, Literature, represented by plays of Shakespeare, with philological notes and short analyses of plot and character to be in substance committed to memory. Can such a list be said to represent Life, as it is known in the midst of the living of it? The best that can be said of it is that it is a rapid table of contents which a deity might run over in his mind while he was thinking of creating a world, and had not yet determined how to put it together." Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education (N. Y.: New American Library Mentor Books, 1949), pp. 18-19.

The matter of powerlessness is explored here, with an attempt to identify specific environmental variables and to introduce the issue of legitimacy. In the actual interviews we also asked if the student wanted more power, often combining the question with Question 1 above, and how he felt about not having more, e.g., if he felt that he were being treated as a child.

Question 8: **Is the school too big, too small, or about right?** Do you get enough personal attention?

Alienation *qua* isolation was the target of this question and its associated probes. In practice we found that the discussion usually led into consideration of the guidance and counselling program.

Question 9: Do you feel that you know what is expected of you at all times?

The discussion at this point was directed toward possible feelings of anomie, a matter that will be explored at greater length in the Conclusion of this report.

Question 10: Would you like to add anything about your feelings toward school and school work?

We included this rather feeble question at the end of our schedule because we found that students frequently were not willing to discuss their feelings until near the end of the interview. The question served primarily as a reminder to the interviewer to go back to items about which the student might have been evasive earlier in the meeting.

There are omissions here. For example, four of Seeman's five versions of alienation are included, but perhaps the most important one is not Alienation from Self.[9] Similarly, rebellion, *ressentiment*, indices of psychological strain, etc., are not listed. In part this was done for political reasons, i.e., we might not have obtained permission to interview had we included anxiety-provoking questions, and in part this reflected the fact that our interviews lasted only forty minutes and were held between total strangers, so candor about such matters could not be expected. Nevertheless we obtained a good deal of information about self-feelings, and even a fair sampling of more sensitive data, so it should not be assumed that we were not looking for such information or that, within the limits of propriety, we did not encourage its expression.

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[9] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-91.

The Questionnaire

In our questionnaire, as in our interview schedule, we tried to touch all, or most, bases. Particularly, we undertook to test for several varieties of alienation and to assess the impact of several aspects of the organizational environment.

Alienation, regardless of just how it is defined, is ordinarily thought to produce some more-or-less visible symptoms, and so we began by devising or borrowing items to assess degree of alienation in its most general form. Alienation, at least of the "expressive" sort, was said by Stinchcombe to lead to rebellion, so we asked our students (MC 1) how often they violated regulations. Blauner suggested that alienated work is boring, so we borrowed his measure of boredom (MC 2) and added another of our own (MC 3) which was prompted by a passage from Mallery.[10] Alienated work is also unimportant, so we asked students to grade their school experiences for importance to them and to significant others (A 2). More generally, alienated work is unsatisfactory

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[10] Blauner, op. cit., p. 210, Question 5. Mallery, op. cit., p. 95. Symbols and numbers refer to questionnaire items, e.g., "MC 3" refers to Multiple-Choice question 3. "AD" is Agree-Disagree. "FC" is Forced-Choice. A is Assessments.

(A 3), unchallenging (AD 23, AD 35), and monotonous (AD 29). As a result, one does not take pride in one's organization (AD 32) or one's membership in it (AD 10).

Becoming more specific, we then introduced a number of items reflecting "varieties" of alienation. Powerlessness, for example, is measured by five questions: Ad 11, AD 18, AD 22, AD 24, and AD 34. Similarly meaninglessness (AD 1, AD 5, AD 9, AD 12, AD 19, AD 28, AD 29), isolation (AD 4, AD 14, AD 27), and anomie (AD 3, AD 8, AD 15, AD 20, MC 1, MC 2) are included. We did not, unfortunately, include any questions about self-alienation, an omission we plan to remedy in later work.

We then asked about reactions to a number of organizational factors: Rules and regulations (AD 6), time pressures (AD 13), and curriculum organization (AD 16, AD 17) received individual attention, while reactions to the authority structure, of course, could be gleaned from the items dealing with powerlessness. "Paperwork" was of special interest to us as the functional equivalent of Marx's "cash nexus," so we constructed two rather elaborate questions (A 1, A 2) to explore its influence beyond that detected by various dual-purpose items (AD 3, AD 28, FC 1, FC 2, FC 4).

Finally we asked about the usual background characteristics of the respondents--age, sex, year in school, etc. We also had them sign their names to their questionnaires, perhaps at the expense of complete candor, in order to allow us to consult their school records for further information. One item of personal information that was especially important was that of future plans, so three questions (PI 5, PI 6, AD 33) about that were included.

Some special test variables were introduced since they played an interesting role in the literature. First, Pearlin had suggested that deference to authority reduced feelings of powerlessness, so we incorporated three items of his obeisance scale (AD 2, AD 7, MC 4).[11] Second, ressentiment, though not directly measured, appears as the denigration of official values found in the wording of various questions, e.g., the cynical AD 1: "The main reason for going to high school is to get the diploma; it is your passport to a good job or to college." Third, the element of "legitimation" first raised by Clark is further explored by our question (A 4) about the "reasonableness" of various organizational conditions.[12]

Many of our questionnaire items serve more than one purpose. For example, the statement just quoted equating diploma and passport serves both as a measure of meaninglessness and a measure of feeling about such a state of affairs. It would be impossible to say just how many of our questions are susceptible to multiple interpretations--this is partly a function of the interpreter's ingenuity--but we have intentionally included quite a few. There are two justifications for conciously posing ambiguous questions.

First, this is one way to increase the efficiency of the questionnaire by increasing the quantity of material collected. In the case of ressentiment as measured by our passport question, we can combine that question with others similarly phrased to construct an ex post facto scale; or, should we wish to do so, we can combine the same item with other measures of meaninglessness.

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[11] Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review 27 (June, 1962), pp. 314-26, esp. p. 318. Pearlin's fourth item, "The best way to get along on this job is to mind your own business and do as you're told," was eliminated in pretest, but influenced our formulation of questions FC 2 and FC 5A.

[12] John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review 24 (December, 1959), pp. 849-52.

Second, ambiguity in the question does not preclude clarity in analysis, and it has the advantage of leaving the interpretation open until further information is assembled. To stick with item AD 1, this could be interpreted as a pretty accurate recognition of things as they are, or it could be seen as a judgement about the sad state of those things, or it might be interpreted as expressing the respondent's resentment about a hypocritical world and its institutions of learning. No mode of orientation is specified *ex ante*, but the actual dimension(s) tapped are recoverable through combination with other items, especially items which are more precise.[13]

The Sample

This project had its share of the usual vicissitudes, plus a few not so usual. We had originally planned to conduct our interviews and administer our questionnaires at a single school, East High. After our interviewing had begun, though, we had the opportunity to distribute our questionnaires throughout the school system of a medium-sized

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[13] We would like to acknowledge our indebtedness to a number of other authorities from whom we have borrowed or adapted questionnaire items. At times, as with Pearlin's obeisance scale or Blauner's measure of boredom, we simply incorporated the items with minor changes reflecting the school context; in other instances, e.g., when we relied on Mallery, we rephrased interview material as questionnaire items; and in other instances we have doubtless employed published questions without recognizing that we were doing so. The sources and questions which we have kept tabs on are: Mallery, *op. cit.*, from whom we adapted AD 1 (see Mallery, p. 73), AD 3 (p. 73), AD 5 (p. 18), AD 16 (p. 95), AD 19 (p. 73), AD 22 (p. 95), AD 30 (p. 9), AD 31 (p. 153), and MC 2 (p. 95). From Pearlin, *op. cit.*, we took the obeisance scale, as already mentioned, plus AD 8, AD 15, AD 20, and FC 5B. Blauner, *op. cit.*, is also partly responsible for FC 5B and for various questions dealing with the challenge of the job, e.g., AD 35. From Stinchcombe, *op. cit.*, we took or adapted AD 25 (Stinchcombe's question 40), AD 26 (Q. 41), A 2 (Q. 23, 24, 25), AD 24 (Q. 36), FC 5B (Q. 38), and of course his analysis has influenced us in other less obvious ways. Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," *American Sociological Review* 26 (October, 1961), pp. 753-58, provided or influenced AD 4, AD II, and perhaps others.

Massachusetts city, so we enlarged our plans in order to take advantage of the opportunity to obtain comparative data. However, at the last minute we were asked not to undertake our research at this particular time, for our city had been invaded by representatives of the Great Society and the educational staffs were being inundated by the data-collection instruments of various fact-finding agencies.

We were still fired with the ambition to compare schools, though, so we enlisted the cooperation of West and Parochial High Schools and distributed our questionnaires there. Unfortunately, when it came time to questionnaire East High, the school from which we had obtained our interview material, we were unable to do so for administrative reasons.[14] Finally, and again for administrative reasons, all of our questionnaire data were not available in time for inclusion in this report; only the West High material is discussed here.[15]

So we wound up pretty much where we had planned, before our ventures into cross-organizational study, with a small number of interviews and questionnaires from a single school.

The fact that our interviews and questionnaires come from two different schools is not as troublesome as it might seem at first glance, for East and West High Schools are quite similar: Both are roughly the same size, both are located in middle- to upper-middle-class "bedroom" suburbs of Boston (which are in fact adjacent to each other), and both are considered to be among the best public schools in the country.[16]

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[14] We exhausted our printing budget.

[15] A logjam in our data-processing center.

We intentionally selected superior schools for our project because we wished to study the influence of the organizational environment. By dealing with schools whose teachers are among the best available, whose students come from educationally-oriented families, whose facilities are more than adequate, and whose leadership is enlightened, we felt that we would be able to minimize the impact of social class, staff competence, and other non-organizational variables.[17] If, that is to say, organization per se has an alienative influence, then that influence should be detectable when everything else is optimal.

We interviewed forty-six junior and senior students at East High, recorded their interviews on tape, and had verbatim typescripts made. One interview was lost through a recording error, so forty-five interview transcripts serve as the data for this report. The interviews were conducted in a small anteroom at East High with only the interviewer and the respondents present. Respondents were assured that their remarks would be treated confidentially, and our typescripts indicate that we collected fairly honest expressions of opinion and feeling. There was, of course, a certain amount of reticence, and a good deal of sheer inarticulateness, but there seems to have been virtually no serious evasion or misrepresentation. For interviews lasting only forty minutes each, and conducted by adult strangers, the results are gratifyingly rich in the sorts of data we were seeking.

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[16] One of the senior author's graduate students had done a study at West High using an early version of our interview schedule, and so we had typescripts to compare with those from East High. The interviews appear to be quite similar, so we feel more justified in using East High material to comment upon West High questionnaire data in what follows. "East," "West," and "Parochial High" are, of course, not the actual names of our schools.

[17] In point of fact it developed that social class was much more varied in these communities than we had first thought, and so we are now classifying our returns by SES scores derived from the student's record.

We talked with twenty-one girls and twenty-four boys, a slight majority (26) of whom were seniors. Thirty of the students were selected at random, and fifteen were chosen for some interesting characteristic (e.g., class president, disciplinary problem) or to increase our sample of an under-represented category (e.g., shop major). Twenty students seemed sure that they would go on to a four-year college and were enrolled in East High's college preparatory curriculum; three other students, enrolled in the general program, also hoped to go to college; thirteen students planned to go to junior college, business, or technical school, and all but one of these were enrolled in the appropriate business or general tracks; four non-college-program boys expected to go into the armed forces; two college curriculum junior boys and two business curriculum girls had no idea of what they would do after graduation; one college-track boy planned to go into business with his father immediately after graduation, and one college-track girl hoped to go directly into the performing arts.

Nineteen of the students were interviewed individually, twenty students were interviewed in pairs, and on two occasions we interviewed three students at the same time. Generally speaking the individual interviews were more informative, for not only did the students speak more freely, they also avoided the sorts of posturing that sometimes characterize youngsters playing for an audience that includes their peers. Individually the students often displayed surprising objectivity about their situations; collectively they just as often perpetuated the working fictions of the teenage school collectivity.

Our questionnaires were distributed by the teachers of West

High, and our returns, we are told, include all of the students who were present on the day of administration. The characteristics of the student body are presented in Appendix I, and further background information, not processed in time for inclusion in this report, is available from the school records.

In addition to interviewing East High students and questionnairing West High students, we also administered questionnaires to the student body of Parochial High, a Catholic high school in the metropolitan Boston area which enjoys a reputation similar to that of our public schools. Although Parochial High draws its students from a number of neighborhoods rather than merely from the immediate one, and although it charges tuition, it differs from our other two schools primarily, we think, in its Catholic authority structure. It is unfortunate that our questionnaires from this school could not be processed in time for inclusion in this report, but our findings will be published elsewhere as soon as possible.

CHAPTER IV

Findings

We initiated this study in order to gather some much-needed empirical information about alienation and involvement in the school, and perhaps the major contribution that a study of this sort could make would be a simple reporting of the data. We have done this in Appendix II, which contains the questions that we asked the students of West High and the answers we received. The present chapter is largely a commentary of that appendix, with excerpts from interviews being introduced to illustrate various points, and with an occasional reference to the literature made whenever it seemed especially pertinent. The analysis is not at all elaborate, partly because we did not have time to use more sophisticated methods, but mainly because the marginals tell such an important story themselves.

The chapter is divided into seven sections: First we will present evidence for our contention that our high school students are not alienated, or at least that they do not display the traditional symptoms. We will then present five sections treating several versions and sources of alienation--powerlessness, meaninglessness (two sections), isolation, and the division of labor, and conclude with a summary dealing primarily with the school. We will return to the broader problem of conceptualization in our final chapter.

Symptoms of Alienation

As mentioned in the previous chapter, regardless of just how alienation is defined there are some reactions which are believed to accompany it. Most of our respondents, however, do not exhibit such symptoms.

Stinchcombe, for example, suggested that "expressive alienation" takes the form of rebellion,[1] but when we asked our students how often they rebelled, i.e., violated school regulations (MC 1), almost 82 percent answered that they rarely, never, or almost never did, while only 4.5 percent admitted that they often did.

Blauner used boredom as a measure of alienation,[2] but our students are not notably bored with their work (MC 2): On the contrary, most (65.2 percent) rate their subjects "A" or "B" on satisfaction derived (A 3E), and only a negligible 5.1 percent felt that their subjects had been unsatisfactory ("D") or failures ("E"). School work is in fact reported to be stimulating (AD 23), challenging (AD 35), pertinent (AD 5), meaningful (AD 12), and important (AD 30).

It is not surprising, then, to find (AD 32) that an overwhelming majority of West High students think that their school does a first-rate job (88.6 percent, with 7.7 percent no opinion), and almost as many express personal pride at being a member of such an organization (AD 10).[3]

Students are proud of their school because it does what it is supposed to do, i.e., it educated them, and they know that it educates them because, in part, there are external measures to verify the fact:

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[1] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Rebellion in a High School (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964). Stinchcombe was not concerned with the sheer frequency of expressive alienation, and his measures were not exactly the same as ours, but we gather that alienation and rebellion were substantially more prevalent in his school than in East or West High.

[2] Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). Using Blauner's measure, our students exhibit the same interest in their work as do skilled workers in industries promoting lesser degrees of alienation, i.e., they are simply not alienated to any significant extent. Cf. Table 47, p. 207.

[3] An aggrandizement effect, i.e., an "upward distortion of an organization's prestige by its own members," is doubtless operative here, but in view of student satisfaction with internal conditions in the school it probably does not exaggerate things very much. See Theodore Caplow, Principles of Organization (N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), pp. 213-16.

> Q: How is East High?
>
> A: First rate, just beyond comparison.
>
> Q: Do you have any basis for comparison?
>
> A: Well, I do have friends in other towns and I know how their college boards are, the average of their schools, and I know that ours is far, far superior; and I know the percentage of East High students that do go to colleges and find colleges.
>
> Q: But how about in your own experience?
>
> A: (Pause) Well . . . (pause) . . . I just think our program like the APP program that I've been taking--you can go through an accelerated program for three years in a subject and in your senior year you take APP, which is the freshman college course. So then you take the Advanced Placement Test and if you do well you get the credits for the course and you don't have to take it.
>
> Q: Would you say that's the best thing about the school--the quality of the education?
>
> A: And also I like the atmosphere. They push you very hard, I think. Almost too hard, because ever since I was a freshman it was college, college, college. And it's kind of hard, but I think it's a pretty good atmosphere. . . . You have to do well on your College Boards. You have to, you know, for your own pride and the pride of the school and to get into college.

East High provides a good education because it succeeds in doing what it is supposed to do, get students into college, and it does this by making them work hard.

But this is only part of the story, for even students not making good marks and not going to college think highly of the school, and all students were quite conscious of the difference between marks and education. In fact, the one question which indicated the greatest (78.9 percent) student discontent at West High reads, "There is too much emphasis here on grades and 'success' rather than on true learning" (AD 3), a sentiment publically shared, incidentally, by the principal of the school. Yet they are proud of their grades and consider them personally important

(A 2D).

Similarly, West High students complain of the routinization of their work, about two-thirds agreeing to the proposition, "There isn't enough variety in high school study; you just read the book, study the notes, do the assignments, and take the tests, over and over again" (AD 29). Yet they tackle their jobs with vigor and take pride in accomplishing them.

This emphasis on overt, or "skin-surface" performances, as Argyris would put it,[4] appears as a source of dissatisfaction in other questions: Most (79.9 percent) students feel that ability to express oneself is more important than knowledge for success in school (FC 5E), and agree (53.3 percent, with 6.1 percent no opinion) that "Personality, pull, and bluff get students through many courses" (AD 8).[5]

There is something of a paradox in all this: On the one hand students are quite conscious of the discrepancy between making out in school and true education; yet they are also proud of making out. Put less colloquially, students seem to view education as a task, and their pride is pride in workmanship.

This conclusion was supported by our interview results when we attempted to uncover some indicators of involvement. In answer to the question, "What do you actually do when you are involved in a course?", virtually all of the answers could be summed up in the reply: "We enjoy it." Students rarely do additional outside readings, and if their interest in a subject interferes with generalized success in school, then more often than not some guilt or self-depreciation was expressed.[6]

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[4] Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (N. Y.: Harper, 1957), pp. 59-60, et passim.

[5] These expressions of cynicism should not be taken too literally, for other questionnaire items (AD 15, AD 20, FC 5B, and A 1) and interview materials suggest that though "looking good" may help, it is neither necessary nor sufficient to succeed in the long run. It rankles nonetheless, though, when substantive achievement or effort is not always formally rewarded.

On the basis of our gross indicators it would be difficult to contend that West High has any significant alienation problem. It may have an involvement, or a mis-involvement, one though, for our data suggest that students are primarily engaged in the task of making good marks rather than gaining substantive insight into themselves and their world. It would make our job of analysis much easier if we could explain this as mere obsession with marks, or "testomania,"[7] but to do so would over-simplify what appears to be a much more complicated issue: Involvement in What? And more important: Why?

Powerlessness

Turning now to some of the more specific meanings of alienation, "powerlessness" is the version most often encountered in the empirical literature. We have simply assumed that high school students are in fact powerless to control the major events of their school lives; indeed, it would be possible to argue that students are the most powerless institutional inhabitants of our society.

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[6] A noted critic has this to say about the phenomenon: "Unfortunately, the pervasive philosophy to which children are habituated as they grow up is the orthodoxy of a social machine not interested in persons, except to man and aggrandize itself. Especially not young persons . . . They are insulated by not being taken seriously. The social machine does not require or desire its youth to find identity or vocation; it is interested only in aptitude [illegible] . . An adolescent ceases to believe in the rightness of his own wants, and soon he even doubts their existence. His rebellious claims seem even to himself to be groundless, immature, ridiculous." Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-Education (N. Y.: Horizon Press, 1964), pp. 84-85.

[7] On "testomania," see Pitirim Sorokin, "Testomania," Harvard Educational Review 25 (Fall, 1955), pp. 199-213, or reprinted in Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology (Chicago: Henry Regnery, Gateway Books, 1965). The best study of the impact of grading in schools is probably still Eugene Smith, Ralph W. Tyler, and the Evaluation Staff (of the Eight-Year Study), Appraising and Recording Student Progress (N. Y.: Harper, 1942). A recent (1963) NSSE yearbook also deals with the topic.

Assuming, then, that the students of West High lack any significant power, it is instructive to note that they do not so perceive the situation: Most (64.9 percent) deny that "There is little or nothing the student can do to change things; student government is rather meaningless here (AD 11). Similarly, most deny that students are treated too much like children (AD 18), that students have too little responsibility for their own educations (AD 34), that the outcomes of classroom discussions are controlled by the teacher (AD 22), or even that there are too many unnecessary rules and regulations (AD 6).

Our interviews indicate that even when students want more power or freedom, it always pertains to relatively minor things, e.g., the right to play baseball after lunch; and our respondents are about equally divided on the question of whether the administration should exercise more or less control over the student body.[8]

Here are some typical comments from the students at East High, which is run as a rather "tight ship":

> We have quite a bit of freedom here. They don't allow us to walk around and things between classes, but that's understandable; we would probably disturb other classes.
>
> I think the student has freedom to take more or less what he wants. . . . (This is wrong) because a kid can take very easy courses the rest of the year and mavbe, maybe he's got the potential to do something with himself instead of being lazy. I don't know how they could fix it or prearrange it, but I think the student is given too much freedom to choose what he wants.

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[8] The principal of East High frequently conducts interviews with the senior class, and summaries of their complaints and satisfactions for the most recent years (1959, 1960, 1962) were graciously made available to us. These summaries, like our interviews, indicate dissatisfaction with only minor aspects of the school experience.

> A few years ago . . . there was a little bit too much freedom then. The teachers were actually afraid of some of the students then because they were so big and strong and everything. Then they had a juke box machine down at lunch and the kids could listen to records and everything and they had a coke machine. They took all of that away. At lunch all you do is just talk and all this and that, you know, I mean, I say they should put the juke box machine and the coke machine back in and make the students a little happier. It would be a little better I suppose.
>
> (Do you feel you have enough freedom?) Yes and no. Some things you have a lot of freedom on and then there are others. Well, there's the teacher again, you see. . . . We have a dress code, about wearing white dungarees. . . . They're pressed and they're clean, and I think it's a ridiculous rule. They don't look bad when they're pressed and cleaned. I think they look pretty good and it's a ridiculous rule. As long as they're clean and not disgustingly tight, too tight, and they're pressed they're just like any other long pants. They're not like blue dungarees. That's just one thing. It's just things like that. (How about smoking?) I think they should get into the Boy's Rooms more to do something about that. I think they should stop it. (Smoking should be stopped?) Yes, I think so.

The four interviewers on this project were a little incredulous about the tolerance that most students seemed to have developed, and at times we pushed this issue to the point of leading the respondent:

> Q: How do you feel about bells ringing? Does it ever get to you?
>
> A: No. Well, it's kind of funny that everybody's life is run by the bells. The bells ring and all these kids pile out into the hall like animals. (Laughs).
>
> Q: Does it ever bother you?
>
> A: I think you get used to it. Sometimes there's the bell to freedom and you're out for the day or for the weekend.

None of our East High respondents saw anything unusual about the detailed control which was exercised over them, though from the adult's point of view this is one of the more noteworthy characteristics of the school.

It should not be forgotten, though, that these young people are just that--young. They are thus inexperienced and quite naturally distrustful of their own ability to exercise power in a responsible manner:

> Q: Do you think students have enough say about who runs this place and the policy of the school?
>
> A: (Pause) Yes. I think if it wasn't run by the administrative part of the school system that things would get out of hand. I think there has to be somebody to lay down the law and say it's going to be this way. . . . I don't think the students at this age know everything and I think they need somebody to guide them and tell them what's right. They might think something is right now but twenty years from now it might not be in their opinion.
>
> Q: You have a lot of faith in adults to know what's right (We both laugh).

These students do not want power, in part because they do not want the responsibility that goes with it (AD 34); and they do not want the responsibility because they feel that they might make too many mistakes (AD 31). Their own educations, it would seem, are too important to them to be left in inexperienced hands, including their own hands.

Satisfaction with powerlessness, though, must reflect satisfaction with the way power is wielded by others. At first we thought that student complacence might be a result of some general respect for adult authority, but when we administered Pearlin's measures of obeisance we discovered that this was not the case (AD 2, AD 7, MC 4, MC 5).[9] On the contrary, our interviews indicate that respect is achieved through competence, it is not merely ascribed to age or organizational status.

Students at both schools were highly satisfied with their teachers and administrators, though they were quick to remark upon the rare exceptions. A majority at West High think that the staff is interested in students' personal problems (AD 14), that high standards of justice prevail (AD 15, AD 20), and almost eighty percent feel that teachers and administrators are working in their best interests (AD 21). The instructional staff, in fact, is about the most satisfactory aspect of the school, with fully three-fourths of the students giving teachers marks of "A" or "B", and a bare four percent rating them "D" or failing (A 4). This is a degree of satisfaction second--and a close second--only to that expressed with peers. In short, students seem content with the power situation because they believe that those who possess power, notably the teachers, are satisfactory, i.e., competent.

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[9] Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review 27 (June, 1962), pp. 314-26.

Another explanation for this tolerance of powerlessness might be suggested: These students cannot conceive of an educational situation in which they would have power. Having never been exposed to alternatives, they feel no particular loss; their "relative deprivation" is zero because they have nothing with which to assess their absolute deprivation. As Margret Hofmann puts it, recalling how it was possible to be a fairly typical adolescent in wartime Germany: "I possessed the one characteristic common to nearly all young people: I had no basis for comparison."[10]

Even if students wanted more power they do not feel that they could have it:

> While the kids like it in school, I think it's too military--the administration and the office--it's military. (Is there anything you can do about it?) We always lose. . . . But I can't complain about the administration, they're very fine people; don't get the idea they're not.

Several other students expressed the sentiment, "You can't fight City Hall," but our general conclusion is that no one really wants to fight City Hall, for City Hall is a pretty good outfit.

In sum, an obvious condition of great powerlessness is not perceived by most students as one of powerlessness, and, even when the condition is acknowledged, it is not felt as either unjust or even uncomfortable.

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[10] Margret Hofmann, "What We Didn't Know," Saturday Review (December 21, 1963), p. 13.

These students are obedient, and they are obedient for a good reason: It is necessary to obey orders in order to do well in school, and it is very important to do well in school.[11] Thus our suburban students are clearly not the reluctant inductees of a compulsory attendance law; they want to be in school. Just why they should want to be, though, is another question, the question of what school means to them.

The Meaning of School

School is important in the first instance because it is the best way to get ahead, and success is one of the primary aims of our students:

> (Have your courses been helpful?) Just to get into college. I need them to get into college. I do like History, though, and English.
>
> My main purpose is to get the diploma. College is a help, but if you don't get that diploma, well, that's pretty bad. It's getting pretty tough to get a good job, you know. The main purpose for me and to other students who are not going on to further education is to get that diploma.
>
> (How long have you been intent on going to college?) I guess my parents always planned for me to go to college right from the start, but I guess I actually didn't want to go until this year. (Why?) I wasn't thinking about it. I didn't think you actually needed it (laughs); I guess I was wrong (laughs). (Why?) I don't know. Well . . . it's hard to say. It's just, well, some kids that I knew from last year, most of them went to college and most are still in college, but the ones that didn't go to college, they're merely working for the town now, or something, or out washing windows on Saturday mornings, or something like that. (Laughs) It's a little less than what I aspire to do. (What do you aspire to do, make money?) Yeah, a lot of it.

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[11] Most of our interview respondents did not cut class at all, and only rarely did any admit to playing hooky. The main reason for this compliance was not fear of punishment, but the fact that missing class would cause the student to fall behind in his studies.

These are some of the attitudes that lie behind the single most unequivocal response that we obtained in our entire questionnaire, an agreement of almost ninety percent to the statement (AD 19): "What we do in high school is essentially preparation for what will come later; the pay-off will be in college or on the job."

It would be tempting to characterize the students' orientation to high school as a purely instrumental one, but this would over-simplify things. For example, the high school diploma may indeed be a ticket to the good life, but high school experiences also have a worth of their own:

> (Is high school work related to your plans?) Well, if we started doing things in high school that were really relevant to what we wanted to do, well--Like, O.K., I'm going to be a teacher, and they start teaching you how to teach, well, that's what they do in college. High school is just getting the general background. Then you go on from there.
>
> I think school teaches you to take orders. The teacher gives you homework and you're supposed to do it. School is like a responsibility more than something you want to do.
>
> (What is a good course?) Well, it's not so much the busy work. Like, I take this accelerated English course. You don't have to write grammar exercises. You read tremendous amounts, critical works, Shakespeare, all sorts that you can possibly--all the works that you can possibly cram in. It's all outside. We discuss theories and philosophies of Frankel and Freud in class and also outside readings. The depth of the courses, it's amazing. (It sounds tough.) But the readings are marvelous. (So [illegible]d course is a tough one?) Oh yes, really. You want to, you want to succeed because it's a challenge to you, and if you pull out a B in one of these courses, it's real.

However expressed, and our respondents were especially hard put to articulate their feelings on this matter, there recurred throughout our interviews this suggestion of something more to high school than mere qualification for college or job. And when we asked (AD 1) if high school were solely a place to get a "passport" to better things, our respondents, though still agreeing (60.1 percent), were far less unanimous than when we combined this function with a reference to preparation.

In addition to providing admission to channels of mobility, then, high school somehow serves to prepare, praepare, "to make ready." But ready for what? The answer is important: The students do not know.

Students do not know what to prepare for because they have had no real experience with roles for which preparation is necessary. With one or two exceptions, our interview respondents had only the dimmest notions about adult roles, and an outstanding quality of responses to questions about plans for the future was a tentativeness that belied most initial expressions of certitude:

> You know, ever since I came up here they've been testing me and one of the tests was in mathematics and another in business stuff. I guess business is just what I'm headed for.
>
> I didn't know what I wanted to do until maybe a couple of weeks ago, and I don't think any of the other kids do either (laughs), and I don't know if that's what I'll be, so these are just general courses that you've got to take to fill the quota.
>
> (What are you going to do when you get through school?) I want to teach high school, and it's either between Biology or English. I'm not sure which. I really can't make up my mind that I want to major for four years in one subject. (Is there anything else you might want to do besides teach?) Well, I wanted to be a nurse, but I've been thinking about it and it takes a very physically strong person, and, I don't know, I just have teaching in my mind.

More important, this attitude seems to carry over to college plans, i.e., college often seems to be a way of avoiding final career decisions:

> I'd rather go to college than work. Like going to college for four years I can also gain learning that will help me and also postpone my having to go to work.
>
> I'm not sure what I'm going to do and I don't want to limit myself. I don't want to sit back and say I'm going into business. I'm afraid I wouldn't be happy at this point if I decided to go into a four year business school like (School). I'd come out and, O.K., I could go into business, but if I said I wanted to do anything else, I wouldn't be able to. I want to go to a liberal arts school.

> (Have you ever thought about how much you'll like your work after college?) Oh, I try not to too much. A step at a time. You know, I can't look too far ahead.

College, of course, is not merely a means for avoiding decisions; it has an attraction of its own. Significantly, much of this attraction lies in the student's ability to do what he is not allowed to do in high school, i.e., pursue knowledge rather than marks

> In college they reach a point of maturity where they go for the knowledge. I think in high school the goal you are trying to reach is college, and in college the goal you are trying to reach is knowledge and social maturity as well as intellectual maturity.

> I want to learn; I don't want to go through life, you know, not knowing what's going on. (What would you like to study in college?) People. You know, the way they act. (Psychology?) Well, I think I'd like to find out if I do. You know, have a chance. You don't have a chance in high school, you know, to get to know what it's all about.

Numerous responses similar to these suggest that college is viewed by high school students as the place where ambiguities will be resolved, where dedication and involvement will occur, where commitments will be generated, and where true insight into matters of importance will be gained.[12]

This, of course, is a rather distorted view, but we would like to submit that the idealized college serves an important function in the high school: It legitimates school activities which might otherwise be devoid of meaning.

An important corollary of this proposition would suggest that if the student wanted to experience his school activities as meaningful--and not to do so would doubtless be unpleasant--then he would elect, or even fantasy, a college education. Such a hypothesis, at any rate, would serve to explain why we found (PI 5) an astonishing 92.9 percent of our questionnaire respondents claiming that they planned to go on to college.[13]

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[12] Robert Williams is pursuing this line of investigation by studying the familiar "sophomore slump" in college as a symptom of disenchantment.

Because of the prominence of the "articulation hypothesis" in the literature, we have compared the few (79) students who do not plan to go on to college with their peers on all questionnaire items. The non-college students' scores are presented in Appendix III. Limitations of time do not permit an extensive analysis of these comparisons--a detailed report will appear later--but two remarks are appropriate at this point.

First, perhaps the most interesting observation to be made of the data in Appendix III is the closeness with which they approximate the responses of the college-bound students: Although deviations from the college norm are in the expected directions, not very many students are involved (a shift of about fifteen would eliminate most differences), and, more important, the only large deviations (e.g., FC 3) can be explained without reference to the alienation-involvement dimension.[14]

Second, most of these differences can be explained as accurate perceptions of the situation in a college-oriented high school: The staff is probably not as interested in these students (AD 14, AD 21), the curriculum is certainly less suited to their needs (AD 5, AD 9, AD 12), and getting a good job is obviously a more pressing problem (AD 1, FC 3). Under these circumstances the high school experience could hardly be expected to be as satisfactory as it is for college-bound students (A 3 and A 4, all items), the work would be more boring (MC 2), and the students would disagree with their teachers (MC 3) and misbehave (MC 1) a bit more. Although they tend to be a little obeisant (AD 2, AD 7, MC 4), and cynical (AD 1, FC 5), they are less guilty of hypocrisy (FC 2) and dishonesty (FC 1), virtues which may in part be attributed to their lack of dedication to grades (A 2).

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[13] "College" is very loosely interpreted to include a number of institutions, e.g., business and technical schools, junior colleges, etc. On the other hand, even those students not planning to go to college looked forward to further education, e.g., in armed forces schools or in on-the-job formal programs.

[14] We have also compared girls and boys and found virtually no differences.

But to return to the bulk of the student body, we have suggested that there are at least two goals which serve to give high school activities meaning, admission to college and "preparation" for some (unspecified) good. At any rate, students do find the work meaningful (AD 9, AD 12), important (AD 5, AD 30), quality-oriented (AD 13), stimulating (AD 23), challenging (AD 35), interesting (MC 2, MC 3), and generally quite satisfactory (A 3, A 4). On the basis of these questionnaire findings, then, one could only conclude that these students do not experience alienation in its meaningless version.

Meaning, though, is of two varieties: On the one hand an activity may serve some larger purpose, in which case the meaning is said to be "extrinsic," while, on the other hand, an activity may be worthwhile in itself, i.e., the meaning may be "intrinsic." College admission and "preparation" are extrinsic motives for engaging in school activities, and our students are almost unanimous in their belief that school work is merely a means to some end, but we should not be overly hasty in accepting this characterization, for the implications are disturbing.

One implication is that subjects which should be intrinsically interesting are being converted into means. English literature, for example, or history, or (frequently) mathematics should be savored, not performed, and to see their worth as dependent upon the contribution they may make to college entrance or occupational mobility is to banalize them to the point of extinction.

The other, related, implication is that students may be finding "meaning" where there should be none. Specifically, a surprising majority of West High students (79.9 percent) report that ability to express oneself is more important for school success than knowledge (FC 5E), a majority (51.5 percent) would give a teacher a wrong answer on an exam if the teacher thought it was right (FC 2), over two-thirds agree that the work is repititious (AD 29), 78.9 percent feel that grades and "success" are over-emphasized at the expense of true learning (AD 3), most (53.3 percent) agree that personality, pull, and bluff get students through many courses (AD 8), and almost half (47.9 percent, with 7.3 percent no opinion) feel that "it's not important what you really know, just look alert and give the right answers" (AD 28). The common element in these questions is the activity involved, i.e., the actual performance of the learning task. We would submit that if a student experiences a glib, hypocritical, repititious, grade-oriented, cynical, and trivial performance as meaningful, then perhaps he is in worse shape than if he distanced himself from it.

We will consider these two possibilities in the section which immediately follows.

The Meaning of Meaning in School

Students find both intrinsic and extrinsic meaning in their studies, but extrinsic meanings take priority and, consequently, intrinsic meanings are seldom experienced. These are our conclusions; our reasons follow.

Roughly half of the students at East High had some subject that they spoke of with enthusiasm, though few had more than one. How much of this enthusiasm reflected intrinsic interest in the subject, though, and how much reflected various extrinsic motivations is difficult to estimate.

This difficulty has two sources. First, it is very hard to distinguish between interest in subject matter and interest in persons associated with the subject matter; indeed, perhaps all intrinsic interests somehow reflect social experiences. At any rate, here are a few responses which illustrate the shapes this problem takes:

> (When do you really get a feeling of accomplishment about your courses?) Well, when I can sit down and talk to my father about something on the engine of a car and I understand what he's talking about. Whereas before, I'd be surprised that all these things were involved in the operation of an engine. When I can talk to him and make sense.
>
> Well, it may sound funny, but it goes back to the teacher. I mean, most people work for themselves, I suppose, to get good marks, but, as I said before, no matter what the subject is, if I have a good teacher and I really want to please him, I'll do well. I'll work hard and I'll enjoy it. The courses where I am not interested in the teacher, where I couldn't care less, I just do it. Like (Course) is a big drudgery.
>
> The English course is excellent. I really like English. It's interesting. They treat you like an adult so that you have to think like an adult. "What do you mean, they treat you like an adult?) Uh . . . that's a difficult question to answer. I think they just ask you to think on your own and they're interested in the way you think and what you think. Well . . . they take the story line and then they ask you your opinion; I think they more or less find out something about you, yourself, and from that maybe . . . (long pause) . . . I think English class helps you to become a more rounded person. Maybe that's my interest in it.

When we asked our interview respondents whether the teacher made the course interesting, or whether interest in a subject could persist in the face of poor teaching, the overwhelming majority indicated that the teacher determined their interest. On the basis of this data, then, one would be tempted to conclude that virtually all of the interest displayed by students for their subjects merely reflected a rather irrelevant desire to please some adult, or an even more irrelevant enjoyment of a teaching performance.

But there is a second difficulty involved in assessing students' interests, a difficulty resident in the "language of means" of the American culture. For whatever reasons--a Pragmatic philosophical tradition, an activistic orientation, a Newtonian metaphysic--we tend to discuss and justify our feelings about an important activity by reference to some purpose which the affect-laden activity serves, and our justificatory discussions frequently employ a simple cause-effect rhetoric.

High school students may at times like a subject because of its intrinsic interest, and no doubt at times they will like a teacher because of the course he teaches, but it is so much easier to phrase matters the other way around; thus the casual relationship reported between teacher performance and interest in the course may at times be a spurious one, resulting more from verbal habit than actual experience. Again, students often refer to becoming a well-rounded or informed person, partly, one might suspect, out of sheer inability to express their feelings in more sophisticated ways. The last student quoted above, for instance, fell back upon the "well-rounded" cliché only after a struggle to express her true feelings, and the magnetic tape recorded not only her words but also the relief she felt as she hit upon this convenient phrase.

In sum, if we take our transcripts very literally we must conclude that there is virtually no intrinsic interest in school subjects; but if we make allowances for the "extrinsic bias" of popular diction, then there are grounds for suspecting that a fair amount of intrinsic interest may be hidden behind the conventions of the language. The amount is not great, for students were not enthusiastic about most of their courses, but nevertheless at least some of the satisfaction expressed

(MC 2, A 3E) may stem from involvement in subject matter, i.e., perhaps not all matters of intrinsic worth have been transformed into means.

Some means, though, appear to have been transformed into ends, notably marks and other indicators which are recorded in the student's dossier. Yet here again we find that the conversion is not total, for our students clearly recognize that their obsession with grades is somewhat irrelevant, and there is a persistent undertone of unhappiness that substantive accomplishment must be subordinated to grade-making:

> Well, in East High you work for good grades so you can go to college. It's just, you know, everyone is obsessed with the fact, and, I know, even I.
>
> It's kind of funny. I could go through a year and get a good grade, but then I look back and I haven't learned anything, and then I can go through a year and get a C, and I'll look back and I'll remember so many things, well, of course--I mean maybe--your parents don't know what you know, and people don't know what you know, and the colleges don't know what you know, so, if you're going to try for anything you're going to try for the grade. I mean the payoff. I mean, you may have the knowledge, but it's not going to do you any good. If you want to go someplace and you want to go to college or anyplace, you have to have the grades, anyway to graduate at least from high school.
>
> Well, I think that knowledge is a good thing, but, you know, when you go to college they always say that you've got to have A's and B's and even though I got C's in my English my sophomore year, the accelerated English, I felt that I had learned an awful lot more in that course than I had learned in another.
>
> In high school kids go out for clubs and athletics and things of that nature to build up their all-aroundness so that they can get into college. (Extra-curricular activities help you get into college?) Yes, they are very important. Colleges like students of varied interests. (What if you just like to sit and think?) Well, I suppose you could put this down on your application. Some kids will participate in extra-curricular activities just for fun, just because they like it. I myself do it both for fun and also because it will help me get into college. I'm going to continue these extra-curricular activities in college, I'm not just going to quit. I don't think you should drop any interest just because it won't help you get into college.

These remarks are a little ambiguous, but the general message is clear:

Grades are necessary, but they are not sufficient.

This would be a happy finding were it not for two further implications. First, our proposition may be re-phrased as a psychologically, if not logically, plausible corollary: "It is necessary, though perhaps not sufficient, that an activity be recorded before it is worthwhile." The underlined segment of the last quotation illustrates the point, and similar remarks are scattered through our transcripts. If an activity becomes recorded it is somehow "officially" important, it is valuable; if not, then it is just "fun" or otherwise unimportant. In the same vein, extra work beyond that necessary to get a good mark is seldom mentioned, even though the subject may be quite interesting. Works of supererogation are rare because they do not affect the Record.

In addition, and this is the second implication that concerns us, students are so busy maximizing necessary marks that they do not have time to "waste" on pursuits which are merely fun. Following one's own interests thus becomes frivolous, if not downright sinful, when to do so diverts energies from making top marks. When we asked (FC 4) our West High students about this issue, less than a third indicated that they were willing to sacrifice an optimal grade-profile to intrinsic interests, and we suspect, from our East High interview material, that even this third would not sacrifice much:

> (Which would you rather have, the knowledge or the grade?) Well, I had to this year, I had to choose between regular English and accelerated English, and that's the difference right there, the difference between an A and a B. (You would rather take a B than maximize your grade?) Yes, because you do so much better in the future; your college boards; you do better in college; you can talk more intelligently; you read. (Would you be willing to take a C?) No, I wouldn't be willing to take a C; maybe a B-minus.

Grades are not only necessary, they are important; and they are so important that they take precedence over all other concerns.

We can only conclude, then, that though intrinsic meaning may still attach itself to some curricular experiences, it does so to a relatively minor degree because of an overriding concern on the part of the students with maximizing their "paper shadow" in the front office files.[15]

Isolation

Given the fact that such a large proportion of our students expressed pride in being a member of their schools, it would be surprising to discover any particular indications of isolation, nor did we. Very large majorities reported than anyone could find friends at West High if he wanted to (AD 4), that the school was not too formal or impersonal (AD 27), and that their experiences with classmates and teachers rated at least a "B" on a scale of satisfaction (A 3). A substantial majority (58.7 percent) also thought that the staff took an interest in students' personal problems (AD 14).

The school, as an isolated community, might be thought to generate alienation from the larger society, but again the students do not seem to feel so: Less than a third agreed with Mallery's respondent that "What we do in school seems so unreal; it has little to do with the important problems of living" (AD 5), only a fourth agreed that the big questions are not handled in school (AD 30), and only a fourth again agreed that school work was too often "make-work" (AD 12).[16]

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[15] On the "paper shadow" as an actionable entity, see: Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961), p. 75.

[16] Cf. David Mallery, High School Students Speak Out (N. Y.: Harper, 1962), p. 18; Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review 26 (October, 1961), pp. 758-77; Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review 22 (December, 1957), pp. 670-77.

Far from leading to feelings of isolation, membership in the school actually provides the adolescent with a community to which he may belong.

> (How do you miss school when you're out?) I don't know. You miss some of the kids, something to do every day . . . (Pause) It kind of stops your progress. Like maybe you go outside and you're talking to somebody during vacation or something and they start to mention words you never heard before or something, you know, more vocabulary than you have. Then you go back to school, you pick up the words and you find out what they mean and maybe pick up some more. Maybe you do the same in math. You come across a problem during the summer that you can't do and next year you learn how to do it, but . . . It just kind of grows with you. When you're not here you're stopped.
>
> I've never cut class because I wouldn't know where to go or what to do. I'd just as soon sit in the classroom.
>
> Well, I mean, there's nothing better to do. I mean, like, let's say you've got a Saturday. You sleep till eleven or twelve o'clock. Then you get dressed. Maybe then its twelve thirty or one o'clock. Then when you're ready to start your day, everybody is getting out of school. You might as well be in school.
>
> During the summer, when the kids are on vacation, they don't have jobs or anything, half the time they get bored and by the time summer ends, they're anxious to get back to school.

In point of fact we encountered more indications of discomfort with excessive closeness in East High than indications of loneliness:

> I don't like the social system at all . . . If, say, for instance, boy and girl relationships; you walk down the hall with a boy two days in a row and you're going steady with him practically (Laughs). So I don't like the social system at all.

There are cliques, of course, and "In" crowds that are often (AD 24) said to run things, but students generally deplore their existence, with, interestingly enough, those who are most "in" being the most upset about it.

One thing wrong with cliques is the possibility of being left out, and one of the worst things about being left out is the effect it may have on one's chances for success in school.

> I think if you're popular in this school you've got half the battle licked, because so many kids go home and, I think, they worry just because they're not known, and that eats away at them so much that their grades go down and even their source of strength goes down.

Students tolerate cliques in much the same way that they tolerate other unpleasant aspects of the established order; cliques are looked upon as necessary evils, and most of our East High respondents expressed a desire to be free of them.

There is little indication of an influential adolescent sub-culture in all this; rather, the situation more resembles the informal structure of a work organization, and a fairly contented organization at that. At best these students constitute a class "in" themselves, but certainly not one "for" themselves; they are conscious of shared similarities, but there is no indication of any crystalization of shared discontent into class-conscious opposition to the adult world that rules them.[17]

Being a student makes one terribly vulnerable to intra-school social events, for to be "out" in school is to be out of everything; there is no other place where a youngster can truly be "in". But most students seem to have established some social contacts within the school (AD 4), and so their experience, rather than reflecting isolation, is one of participation. Thus the impersonality which supposedly characterizes bureaucratic relationships does not seem to be an important element here, and the "cultural estrangement" which might be thought to result from school membership is not encountered, for the school serves to connect rather than to isolate the adolescent and the larger community.

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[17] Further evidence for the relative weakness of the adolescent sub-culture, if there is such a thing, is found in questionnaire item A 2. Here the students indicate that their feelings about grades are more like those of their parents and potential employers than like their friends, and we found substantial evidence for dissatisfaction with the student body (though not necessarily one's own friends) in items AD 25 and AD 26. The argument for the importance of the youth sub-culture in school is presented by, among others, James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (N. Y.: The Free Press, 1961). But see Marie Jahoda and Neil Warren, "The Myths of Youth," Sociology of Education 38 (Winter, 1965), pp. 138-49.

The Division of Labor

Specialization and the division of labor are often thought to be the cause of alienation from work, for they render work both trivial, by simplifying it, and meaningless, by removing it from its total context. Our students, though, did not express discomfort with the fragmentation of their curriculum: They disagreed completely with Whitehead by approving (81.7 percent) the sequential organization of their courses (AD 16), and they were only slightly less favorable in their views of the relatedness of course contents across school class boundaries (AD 17). In fact, the most reasonable aspect of the school organization, in the students' opinion, turned out to be the curricular regulations (A 4C).

The work might be a little boring (AD 29, HC 2), and it might not always be clear just why certain tasks are required (AD 9, A 4D), but there seems to be little doubt that the students experience the division of knowledge into courses, and the division of their day into classes, as utterly normal. In part this may reflect the possibility that integration need not reside in the curriculum: "You sort of have to do that yourself," one student explained. But most students who commented on this topic recognized discontinuities and the lack of articulation, though they were not notably bothered by it:

> Well, maybe Math and Chemistry (are related), but it's just sort of--they're independent. It's just like going from one world to the next. In the next room, you've just gotten what you've done and it's all a different atmosphere and it's all different stuff.

> Well, the only course really that I can apply to another is History, which does help at times in studying Literature. But as far as the correspondence goes, there's nothing. They don't tie together at all. It seems like four different things.
>
> (Do the courses tie in together?) Hmm . . . (Pause) . . . I don't know, because I've taken such a wide variety of courses that . . . I mean, within a field, like within the languages, you can see the correlation, and within the sciences, but I don't know about between departments; you can't really give that much correlation.

None of our respondents expressed more than the mildest of feelings about the division of learning, and all responses, such as those cited above, were elicited by direct questions and were not pursued further by the students.

It is undoubtedly true that this tolerance of fragmentation stems in large part from an inability to conceive of alternatives, but we also received the distinct impression, admittedly difficult to document, that there was a more important reason operating: The "integration of educational experience" was not important to these students, for they were not engaged in mastering subject matter, they were engaged in "preparation" and the generation of a favorable record.[18] Thus Math and History might seem to be utterly unrelated in the classroom, but they were related where it counts--in the front office files, where they bore witness to college preparedness and the possession of an "all-around" education.

Summary

We found no evidence of any large-scale alienation, at least as it is ordinarily measured, in the two high schools that we studied. We did, however, find indications of another familiar sort of reaction to formal organization, an apparently massive conversion of means into ends.

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[18] The quoted phrase is the title of an important publication dealing with this issue: Nelson B. Henry (ed.), The Integration of Educational Experiences, The Fifty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part III (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

More particularly, we found that "education" had come to be construed almost entirely in terms of performances, especially those that maximize grades, and that students were involved in the task of getting through school rather than the experiences which a curriculum presumably should afford.[19] Whether this is good or bad depends largely on one's philosophy of education.

From one point of view these schools are doing a superlative job. Their graduates are successful in gaining admission to college, compare favorably on national tests of achievement, and seem generally well prepared for modern life. The students accept this point of view, and they think their schools are doing a fine job.

From another point of view, though, it might be feared that a rather shallow version of education is being pursued here, a version which is admittedly efficient for certain limited purposes, but which is nevertheless quite short of ideal. Specifically, students may be being taught merely to succeed.

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[19] "Experience" is used in Dewey's sense, and it should be remembered that educational experiences must not only be sufficiently pleasurable to involve students, they must be so planned as to contribute to long-range educational goals. John Dewey, Experience and Education (N. Y.: Collier Books, 1963), pp. 25-27. We did not investigate the teaching at East and West Highs, but we strongly suspect that whatever pleasure attached to class experiences was not planned with an eye to long-run consequences but was, on the contrary, an epiphenomenon of a subject matter-oriented presentation.

Be that as it may, the general pattern which emerges from the data reported in this chapter is one which we have come to call institutional paternalism, a pattern which, at least in these two schools, works to prevent the emergence of clear-cut or widespread feelings of alienation. Students see their schools as "paternalistic" because they view them as benevolent, or working in the students' best interests, and as wise. We use the term "institutional" for two reasons: First, these qualities reside in the school itself, or at least in the formal roles which constitute its structure, and, second, students expect paternalistic treatment as a right of school membership, not as a something to be earned.

Attitudes toward teachers are a case in point. Our students expressed great satisfaction with their teachers, for they thought them highly competent, but what teachers are competent *at* is less clear. First, it seems that teachers make the task of learning more pleasant by being entertaining, informed, clear, in control of the classroom, enthusiastic about the subject, and fair. Second, teachers are apparently expected to make the students want to learn, they motivate. In any event, the teacher is seen as the prime determinant of the educational process; he rather literally "makes" education happen.

The student, on the other hand, is curiously passive: He "learns," to be sure, but it is the teacher who causes the learning to occur. Accordingly, teachers are evaluated by the critical standards of an audience, somewhat as actors are, with the standards being the quality of the relatively non-volitional responses of the student-critics. A better analogy would be the doctor-patient relationship: The patient is expected to follow orders, and to that extent he participates in his own therapy, but beyond that results are entirely the responsibility of the physician.

Thus it is the student's job to do what the teacher tells him to do; it is the teacher's job to know what to tell the student to do. It is also, therefore, the teacher's responsibility to know why the student should do what he is told to do; the student need concern himself only with performance, secure in the belief that there is purpose in what he does. Finally, the student knows that whatever purpose there is in the work he does, it is for his own good: Teachers do not have ulterior motives.

All of this is rather impersonal, though, for the teacher is wise and acts on behalf of the student because he is supposed to--that is his institutional role. Thus students do not express personal gratitude for teaching services, though they may be enthusiastic in their critical acclaim when the performance is superior, and are prone to be morally indignant rather than personally disappointed at rare teaching failures. The teacher, from the point of view of the student, is a professional.

Still, the student does not know exactly what these professionals are doing to him, though he is fairly sure that, whatever it is, it is for his own good. He does know that mathematics, for example, is well taught, for his teachers have advanced degrees and the school's College Boards are high, but just why mathematics should be taught at all is not very clear; everyone tells him that it's important, though, and anyway there isn't much he can do about it since it's a required subject.[20] In addition, nobody is rewarded for liking or "appreciating" Math; the important thing is just to do it.

This rather narrow perspective seems to stem from the simple fact that high school students are young, which is to say that they have not had much personal experience with broader perspectives and the long-range goals to which adults attach so much importance. Life, for adolescents, is something that is mostly in the future, and its major meanings have yet to be learned--though adults may endlessly try to teach them. It is this sheer youthfulness, with its "lack of comparisons," that we feel explains a great deal of the information we have presented.

First, as we have already pointed out, students do not want power because they do not want the responsibility that goes with it, and they do not want the responsibility because they do not feel that they know enough to handle it wisely. Conversely, those who do have power and responsibility are felt to be sufficiently wise and paternalistic--in large part, one might suspect, because it is so important to students that they be so.[21]

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[20] It might be appropriate at this point to remark that at least one of our interview respondents mentioned every subject offered by the school as his favorite. The fact that many of our citations in this paper mention English reflects the larger amount of discussion that mention of that subject drew, and one of the major reasons that students were interested in English (or History or Social Studies) was the fact that personal problems were explored. Most of our students expressed, however dimly, a desire to have more guidance with their personal problems, problems which are rather pressing at adolescence.

[21] The importance of guidance, plus the expectation that it should rightfully be provided, probably explains the virulence with which students turn against inadequate schools and their staffs.

Second, not knowing what they want, students are reluctant to get too involved in anything for fear that their enthusiasms might turn out to be mere infatuations. Involvement implies commitment, and commitment entails the abandonment of alternatives,[22] alternatives which the student fears might be more attractive if he knew enough to assess them. Under these circumstances lack of involvement becomes a positive good, for it allows for flexibility in important career decisions. The tactics of non-commitment include espousal of the doctrine of well-roundedness, college, "general background" activities, and other ways of making ready--making ready for anything, i.e., nothing in specific.

Third, under these circumstances the entire evaluative dimension becomes rather muted. The student's lack of concern with the relevance or relatedness of his courses, for example, no doubt reflects his lack of commitment to specific goals which would lend relevance and illuminate relatedness. Similarly, since virtually anything can be justified as being potentially useful, all curricular experiences are levelled to their lowest denominator, unspecified preparation, and the medium through which they are transmitted to the future--the dossier--assumes great importance. A universal medium is demanded for transactions in an unpredictable future, and so the common sentiment that grades are the "pay-off" should not be dismissed as hipster cynicism; grades are a generalized result of present activity, like currency, and an unknown future requires such generalized resources.

We thus arrive at a paradoxical conclusion: The guiding value in this sort of education is valuelessness, or, more correctly, preparation for later commitment to any value.[23] And so the obsession with grades, the concentration on instrumental performances at the expense of substantive involvements, the rush to college, the bland acceptance of things as they are, these and other activities about which it is easy to be critical may not be entirely the outgrowths of a mindless Philistinism; they may rather reflect a serious and laudable concentration on the central task of youth, to Make Ready.[24]

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[22] Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," American Journal of Sociology 66 (July, 1960), pp. 32-40.

It would be impossible to say whether this value-free orientation is inherent to the condition of being young or whether it reflects the structure of the school, but it is possible to argue that this orientation is a major value of the real, though not necessarily the official, curriculum of the school. If the aims of education are defined in an operational way, i.e., as those values which result from exposure to educational organizations, then one of the major values taught in our schools is the value of preparation. This means that non-commitment, the amassing of general purpose resources (grades), obedience, conformity, etc., acquire positive valuations quite beyond their obvious situational worth, and the danger is that preparation and its associated behaviors may come to serve as a central theme in later life. To the extent the prolonged adolescence is socially required, to that extent is a preparatory adaptation functional; but there is always the possibility that the student will learn his lesson too well, that he will prolong his own adolescence and will become virtually incapable of those involvements and independent discriminations which are said to shape the mature personality, that he will become "fit in an unfit sort of fitness."[25]

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[23] The value of non-commitment is appreciated by military planners, and seems to be at least intuitively grasped by our students as they plan their vocational careers. On the tactics of "positive non-commitment," see inter alia, B. H. Liddell Hart, Sherman (N. Y.: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958).

[24] This point of view is not necessarily at variance with the popular notion that adolescence is a time for discovering one's identity, for "making ready" includes an exploration of one's potentialities. Cf. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (N. Y.: W. W. Norton, 1950). At the same time, though, we would hesitate to agree that our students are seeking to establish a specific identity; indeed they seek to delay such a commitment of self as long as possible.

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[25] Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," Social Theory and Social Structure (N. Y.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 198. Merton quotes Kenneth Burke on unfit fitness. It would be interesting to further discuss other latent learnings in our schools, e.g., teaching the virtue of hard work, the importance of externals, etc., but this would take us somewhat far afield.

CHAPTER V

Conclusions

Our findings of the previous chapter have implications for sociologists as well as for educators, for they suggest substantial ambiguity and even contradiction surrounding the concept of alienation. Our research did not finally clarify the term, but there are still lessons to be drawn which may contribute to its ultimate clarification, so we will devote this last chapter to a discussion of the conceptual status of alienation.

We feel that the concept has been altered by attempts to make it more suitable for empirical studies, with the result that alienation as it appears in research publications means something rather different from alienation as it appears in the general literature. Our own view is that alienation can best be understood as self-alienation, and that "varieties" of alienation, or facets, or modes, etc., merely represent different ways of phrasing what can best be phrased by reference to an interactionist Self.[1] The familiar difficulties involved in measuring dimensions of the

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[1] George Herbert Mead and Charles H. Cooley are among the more prominent exponents of this viewpoint in the present century, but it is interesting to note that John Dewey, whose pedagogy we employ here, and Karl Marx, whose social psychology we applaud, are also of this school. Although Hegel is perhaps the philosophical prime mover of this approach, the Scottish Moral Philosophers must also be counted as ancestors, and our own view owes as much to Adam Smith as it does to the Theses on Feuerbach, and as much to Erving Goffman as to Erich Fromm. We have come to employ the interactionist perspective because of its ability to make sense of a maximum number of interpretations, however, and not because of any prior commitment to this school of thought; indeed, given the difficulties of operationalizing interactionist hypotheses, we came to our position with great reluctance.

Self have meant that these dimensions do not figure in most research, but we would argue that, in spite of operational difficulties, such dimensions may lay claim to social scientific status by virtue of their power to organize other, more easily measured, events.[2]

The chapter is divided into three sections. First we will review some of the evidence for our contention that current research usages alter the commonly understood meaning of alienation, and we will sketch some of the reasoning which led us to accept self-alienation as the preferred definition. We shall then present, in a second section, our argument for self-alienation, noting, among other things, how this definition helps answer a number of questions raised in earlier parts of the report. A final section discusses some implications for future research.

The Measurement of Alienation

Historically, alienation has generally been considered to be a condition of the soul or the psyche; it is a personal malaise, and hence psychological. But it is caused by extra-psychic conditions, often social ones, and so it must be considered to be a social-psychological event.[3] To say that an individual is alienated without somehow referring to his psychological state thus strikes us as unreasonable, and to attempt to measure alienation without reference to the individual's personal experience is a mistake.

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[2] Interactionist concepts may serve in two roles: First, as hypothetical constructs, or the components of fairly abstract propositions, they may be employed to form hypotheses from which empirical propositions may be deduced. In this mode, their worth is determined by the utility of the derived empirical propositions and they themselves need not be measurable or even "exist"; their function is entirely theoretical. Second, though, we feel that the interactionist vocabulary more nearly reflects the general understanding of alienation, while at the same time it is closer to operational terms than are, say, the phrases of Dostoyevsky or Sartre or the like. In this mode, interactionist concepts serve to link intuitive "understanding" and operational specification. On the theoretical function of "meaningless" concepts, one of the most lucid statements is Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell, *Principia Mathematica* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1962; first published in 1910), "Preface." On the desirability of combining two independent approaches to a concept, see Robert Bierstedt, "Nominal and Real Definitions in Sociological Theory," in Llewellyn Gross (ed.), *Symposium on Sociological Theory* (Evanston, Ill., and White Plains, N. Y.: Row, Peterson, 1959), pp. 121-44, or any standard textbook of logic.

Yet, as we have seen,[4] alienation is sometimes "measured" by purely environmental indicators, the assumption apparently being that whenever certain conditions exist in the subject's environment they are automatically accompanied by psychological responses which fit traditional definitions of alienation. There is a massive social science literature, though, which demonstrates as clearly as anything can be demonstrated in social science that the situation as seen by the observer and as seen by the subject may be thoroughly different. This was certainly the case with our students, who saw sufficient power where we saw total powerlessness, who discerned meaning where we did not, who experienced participation where we suspected isolation, who reported integration where we observed fragmentation, and so on.

If nothing else, our research has demonstrated the problematic nature of the relationship between environmental conditions and the individual's experience of them. We must therefore conclude that any definition of alienation which relies solely upon the characteristics of the subject's milieu is incorrect.[5]

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[3] Alienation may also be considered a religious event, if alienation is "caused" by man's fall from Grace, or a metaphysical one, if it is taken as part of the Human Condition, i.e., "caused" by man's becoming human at all. This latter view is espoused by a host of modern philosophers, artists, and theologians and is perhaps the official metaphysic of the times. Our inquiry is restricted to alienation as caused by social events, but we by no means exclude these other, non-social science, viewpoints and will, in fact, make some attempt below to make room for them in our frame of reference.

[4] _Supra_, pp. 12, 16-17.

Some operational definitions of alienation take minimal account of the subjective domain by acknowledging that the individual's perception of the situation, not necessarily the situation itself (or the observer's perception of it), forms the content of alienation. Most of these approaches, though, deal only with cognitive perceptions and are thus little or no improvement over the purely environmental approaches just discussed.[6] And again our research indicates how little fidelity such cognitive definitions may bear to traditional understandings of alienation: Students isolated in special institutions perceive their segregation from the larger community, but they feel attached to that community by their special institutions; students incapable of perceiving any meaning in their substantive curriculum nevertheless said that they felt there was, or must be, meaning; students who perceived their absolute powerlessness in the school still felt the situation to be both proper and desirable; and so on. Clearly students who experience involvement, meaning, satisfaction, pride, and the like in the school situation cannot be said to be alienated in any even remotely ordinary sense of the word.

At times, though, variations in reported perceptions of the situation are used as projective tests of inner states.[7] This strikes us as a more legitimate use of measures of perception, but such measurement does not indicate what alienation is; they are indicators, perhaps, but the question remains: Indicators of what? If, for example, one student reports that he has power in the school, while another student in the same situation says that he does not, then the difference between these two reports may be taken as a valid indicator of a difference between the two students. Our interview material indicates that the difference is one of evaluation, not cognition, for all of our respondents indicated that they were in fact virtually powerless, but many indicated that they had enough power.

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[5] All of the articles reviewed above make at least passing reference to the subjective state of the individual, but the actual questionnaire items (or other measures) employed often do not. In the present discussion we refer to the "real" (or operational) definitions implicit in these measures rather than to the nominal definitions of the authors.

[6] Supra, pp. 16-17.

[7] Supra, p. 17.

Introducing the process of evaluation, though, also introduces the problem of criteria: What are the standards against which perceived conditions are assessed? And more important, though less obvious, is a further question: Just what is being assessed?

In answer to the first question, the majority of research publications which deal with the problem of criteria at all (some do not) take a subjective and relativistic position, i.e., they hold that the subject's own criteria determine whether or not the situation is seen as alienative: Pearlin, for example, recognizes that certain individuals habitually defer to authority, thus automatically experiencing powerlessness as proper, Seeman makes the subject's expectations part of all of his definitions, and Clark takes the individual's view of his "rightful" position as his benchmark.[8] A few authors go on to identify the source of these personal standards, e.g., Coser attributes them to the professional community of her nurses, and Turner and Lawrence note the influence of sub-cultures, but regardless of how far the analysis is pursued, there seems to be widespread recognition of the fact that it is the subject's evaluation, not the observer's, that determines whether the subject's response to the situation will be one of alienation or not.[9] This view, of course, squares quite well with our own findings.

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[8] Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review 27 (June, 1962), pp. 314-26; Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-91; John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within A Social System," American Sociological Review 24 (December, 1959), pp. 849-52. For a recent summary of Seeman's work, see: Melvin Seeman, "Antidote to Alienation-Learning to Belong," Transaction 3 (May/June, 1966), pp. 35-39.

The second problem associated with evaluation--What is being evaluated?--is more difficult. At first glance it might seem that the situation is being evaluated, but if alienation is a personal experience of the situation then obviously some combination of situation *and* experiencing evaluator must be postulated. Indeed, the process of evaluation seems itself to be part of the experience of alienation: It is one thing to evaluate, correctly, the experience of imprisonment as unpleasant, but the evaluation of someone else's imprisonment and the evaluation of one's own imprisonment are two very different experiences, i.e., the former may be a purely rational sort of assessment while the latter inevitably carries an affective freight. We would thus submit that what is being evaluated is not the situation but the individual himself *in* that situation.

These arguments are supported by the data of our study. Our students perceived, for instance, that they were relatively powerless, but the experience of being without power was not evaluated in such a say as to give rise to reactions even remotely resembling alienation; on the contrary, the students felt that *for themselves* the situation was satisfactory and beneficial. In fact, it was *because* the situation was beneficial that it was experienced as satisfactory. In the final analysis, then, what seems to be being evaluated is the subject himself: If the individual views himself favorably in a situation, then he will experience the situation itself as satisfactory--regardless of how powerless, meaningless, isolated, or anomic the situation may seem to anyone else. Thus self-evaluation is the process involved in alienation, and the relevant criteria are those standards that the individual holds for himself.

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[9] Rose Laub Coser, "Alienation and the Social Structure," in Eliot Freidson (ed.), *The Hospital in Modern Society* (N. [illegible] The Free Press, 1963), pp. 231-65; Arthur N. Turner and Paul R. Lawrence, *Industrial Jobs and the Worker* (Boston: Division of Research, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1965).

The sum of an individual's standards or aspirations for himself may be referred to as his "Ideal Self," and it is against this Ideal Self that the individual compares his Perceived Self when he evaluates himself. The possession of power, for example, was not an aspiration of our students, and so their Ideal and Perceived Selves matched in the school situation; the students were, literally, Self-satisfied. Conversely, we will now argue, alienation is a form of Self-dissatisfaction.

Alienation of Self

Self-evaluation implies viewing one's Self as an "object," as something external to that which does the viewing. In his original formulations of alienation, Marx took special cognizance of this process, the process of "objectification," "externalization," or, in the original, Entäusserung.[10] Our interview respondents similarly externalized their experiences and displayed remarkable objectivity when discussing themselves. One of the most independent students we interviewed, for example, a student who repeatedly emphasized his personal philosophy of autonomy, had this to say about his choice of a college:

> I think it's, well, like planning your meals. If you want to have a good supper, you go shopping. You can go to any supermarket and get a good pick of food, but if you go to a better one you car get a better selection of food. This is what I'm doing. I'm going to pick and choose my education; you know, determine my own courses, evaluate my teachers and all; and if I have a better selection I'll get a better choice. (Isn't this still asking your environment to shape you?) I guess in a sense I am, but in a sense I've got to accept the environment too. I mean,

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[10] The remarks about Marx's views and terms depend largely on John O'Neill, "The Concept of Estrangement in the Early and Later Writings of Karl Marx," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research 25 (September, 1964), pp. 64-84.

> I can't go into a library and pick the books and chapters I want to read, so you see I've got to compromise somewhere. I never thought of it exactly.

Thus about all autonomy amounts to is the freedom to select the situation in which one will be taught, but, as we have seen, submitting to the ministrations of others--at least if one has faith in the others--need not be accompanied by feelings of alienation, and this regardless of how passive or object-like the individual may recognize himself to be.

As long as the "product" of the situation is perceived as satisfactory, the situation itself is perceived as satisfactory, and viewing one's Self as a product or object need not be experienced as at all abnormal. Nor did Marx view the process of objectification as abnormal. What he did view as abnormal, or undesirable, was the creation of an undesirable Self, and for this process he used the separate term Entfremdung--estrangement, "foreignization," or alienation.

The individual as subject, actor, perceiver, evaluator, etc., is often referred to as the "I", while the individual as object, that which is acted upon, perceived, or evaluated, is called the "Me." Kurt Riezler makes explicit the various ways in which an individual may react to his own perception of his performances (i.e., his "Me"):

> Man is his own object in many ways. The Me can mean many things: the Me of yesterday, the Me in this particular action or situation, or the Me in all actions or situations. I am angry with myself about my attitude yesterday in court. I might have been able, ready, or willing to behave differently. Now it is too late. I cannot take back that Me. This Me was I, not someone else. Yet this Me was not I. I can shove this Me aside--that was not really I, myself, I am really quite different; at any rate I could be.[11]

Marx's Entfremdung seems to be no more than this "shoving aside" of a Me, a thoroughly understandable process of disowning, disclaiming, or making foreign and alien that part of one's Self that one does not feel proud of.

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[11] Kurt Riezler, Man: Mutable and Immutable (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950), p. 80.

To disown or make alien a part of one's Self, i.e., a Me, involves more than cognition and evaluation; inevitably, it would seem, some feeling must accompany the process.[12] It would be very difficult, and perhaps futile, to attempt to describe the feeling of alienation--as it is difficult and often futile to try to describe any feeling--but, be that as it may, the feeling of being alienated from a part of one's Self, which is to say the feeling accompanying the perception that one has not measured up to one's own standards, might be taken to be the "essence" of alienation, its ultimate meaning to which cognition and evaluation only point. In any event, it is this affective component which distinguishes between Self-dissatisfaction and the mere recognition that someone (including oneself) is, or should be, dissatisfied with himself; alienation *qua* affect is the personal experience of self-dissatisfaction.

Turning now to the process of becoming sufficiently dissatisfied with a Me to be willing to disown it, it would appear that an individual's dissatisfaction might have two sources: First, he may view a performance (a Me) as inadequate, or, second, he may have trouble evaluating his performance at all.

Defective performances must be minimized if they threaten a generally favorable assessment of Self, and, among a variety of tactics for minimization, alienation *qua* disowning ("I wasn't myself," "I didn't know what I was doing," etc.) is usual. Common to many, if not all, of these arguments is a disclaiming of responsibility for the poor performance, and this claim that one cannot be held responsible for one's inadequate behavior seems to be what is meant by alienation *qua* powerlessness.

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[12] Erving Goffman has presented some valuable discussions of the management and "ownership" of self, e.g. and most pertinent here, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Spectrum Books, 1963).

The particular forms that denial of responsibility takes are numerous, the least likely being an admission that one is simply incompetent. More popular are various "conspiracy" theories and the exaggeration of personal liabilities for which one cannot be held accountable. In these instances external causes can be indicted for one's inadequacies, and hostility or other negative feelings directed against these agencies may replace self-loathing or whatever emotion accompanies the recognition of an inferior Me. When we speak of a person as being alienated "from" something other than himself, it is probably these feelings of hostility that are implied, feelings directed toward the polity, the economic system, one's racial identity, or whatever.

Defective criteria for evaluating performances pose more complicated issues. Two possibilities suggest themselves: First, an individual may know what he wants (have a clear Ideal Self) but may not know how to assess his actions in relation to his goals, i.e., his experience may be one of "anomia," normlessness.[13] On the other hand, the individual may possess quite explicit norms for evaluating his performances, but the norms themselves may not relate to any value the individual supports. In this instance we can speak of "meaninglessness."

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[13] "Anomia" is the psychological state associated with the social condition of anomie. For a good overview of this topic, see: Marshall B. Clinard, (ed.), *Anomie and Deviant Behavior* (N. Y.: The Free Press, 1964). The phrase "defective criteria" used here glosses over some of the knottiest problems in sociological conceptualization, but we would like to mention one evaluative situation which has special relevance for a discussion of alienation, i.e., the condition in which goals are clearly perceived but incapable of attainment because of normative (or other) constraints. In Durkheim's original formulation, this condition of "fatalism" is the *opposite* of anomie, though it seems to be the situation most closely resembling Marx's view of alienation, i.e., the self "despoiled" by social structure. The fact that anomie can be considered a "variety" of alienation suggests just how confused this issue can get. Durkheim himself, of course, had too great a stake in "organic solidarity" to talk very much about the dysfunctions of bureaucracy. See Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 275-76.

The feelings accompanying defective evaluative criteria may include elements of hostility if some external agent can be identified, but there is doubtless a large component or sheer confusion, disorientation, or feelings of being "lost."[14] Since these are among the most intolerable of human feelings, it is not surprising that strenuous efforts will be made to avoid norm- or value-ambiguity; this is also why, we suspect, high school students seem to need a "faith" that there are ends served by their activities, lest those activities (and their school Me's) be meaningless, and why marks and other unambiguous (though often trivial) norms are so avidly seized upon.

Our discussion could be extended almost indefinitely at this point, for there is much to add about anomie, "the value problem," and related topics, but in the interest of brevity suffice it to say that if alienation is defined as self-alienation, in the sense discussed above, we feel all other useful views on the topic can be incorporated within the framework we have sketched. It remains now only to indicate what non-alienation, i.e., involvement, is.

If an individual is satisfied with himself he will possess criteria for assessing himself as satisfactory and he will perceive his performances as measuring up to his standards. Self satisfaction thus involves both perceiving and approving a Me; one lays claim to one's performance, feels proprietary about the Me, and, what is more, views the situation in which such a satisfactory state of affairs occurs as a good situation. This, we submit, is what involvement means, and to be involved in a situation is to relate that situation to the generation of a satisfactory Me. When our students exhibited pride in their schools, they were in effect saying that they were proud of the Me's generated by the school situation. Indeed, since a Me is the joint product of the individual and his situation, laying claim to or embracing a Me necessarily implies proprietary attachment to the situation also--getting wrapped up in it (involvere: to "in-roll"). Conversely, the familiar tendency for people to exaggerate the importance or worth of their situation is probably no more than a version of the basic human tendency to maximize self-worth and importance.

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[14] Negro literature frequently combines both elements, as the titles of such works as "The Invisible Man" or "Nobody Knows My Name" imply: the lack of criteria for being visible or known even to oneself can be blamed on external agencies.

With our general position on alienation and involvement thus outlined, we are now in a position to answer several questions raised in an earlier chapter of this report:[15]

(1) Is alienation a syndrome? No, it is a single psychological process or experience of disclaiming a portion of one's Self, i.e., a situational "Me" is made alien because it is not acceptable. Alienation may at times appear to be a syndrome because it may be conceptualized in various ways, or various situations may give rise to it, or it may be evidenced in different behaviors. Thus when several usages of the term are discovered in the literature, we would argue that these merely represent several attempts to say the same thing, rather than several distinct things which always appear together; or when a typology of alienation is constructed on the basis of apparent causes, we would argue that different causes can still lead to the same result; and when particular behaviors or sentiments are used to differentiate types of alienation, we can only argue that, as an independent variable, alienation can also lead to various consequences and be accompanied by various symptoms.

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[15] Supra, pp. 25-26.

(2) Is alienation holistic? It depends on which "whole" is taken as the point of reference. Our students discriminated between involvement in single classes (and even in segments of classes, e.g., discussion versus lecture phases), but their general attitude toward the school situation was more the result of a summarization; i.e., empirically speaking it seems that the school-Me looms much larger in students' over-all self-assessments than their Math-Me's or English-discussion-Me's, etc. We have no direct information about how important this School-Me is compared to other molar Me's, but other studies indicate that when organizational members are dissatisfied with the entire situation they tend to minimize their organizational Me's in order to achieve a maximum total self-evaluation.[16] One would suspect that self-satisfied students, such as ours, would inflate the importance of the School-Me (and the school), and we have some indirect evidence suggesting that that is what happens.[17] In any event, it is doubtful if a totally negative evaluation of Self can be tolerated, i.e., total alienation as total self-disowning is probably impossible.

(3) What are the behavioral indicators of alienation? The best measures of alienation would be measures of self-evaluation, but these are notoriously unscientific. On the other hand, those events which are easiest to measure--characteristics of the situation, reports of cognitions, etc.--are suspect on grounds of validity. We would suggest that measures of feelings about the situation--e.g., loyalty to or pride in one's organization--are a good compromise, as are variations in subjects' assessments of the situation (e.g., whether the individual feels he has "enough" power, etc.). More important, though, we feel that our study has demonstrated

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[16] E.g., Coser, op. cit.

[17] Supra, p. 65.

the danger of taking any measure of alienation as valid, for those that have heretofore been used seem all premature.

(4) Can one be alienated without knowing it? This depends on which criteria are used in assessing the Self. As a research expedient, we are inclined to agree with most students of this problem and contend that alienation is a function of personal criteria (or their lack), and so if the individual doesn't experience himself as partly alien then he is not alienated. However, this sort of subjectivism does not preclude the possibility that the individual may be employing inferior or trivial criteria and that, measured by worthier standards, he should feel alienated. Thus the Lumpenproletariat are defective both in performance and in standards; they are ignorant of the very norms which lead to true pride in self and are thus alienated from their own possible Selves. Of course this line of argument removes the concept of alienation somewhat from the realm of a value-free social science, for one philosopher's ultimate criteria for humanity are not the next's; but it cannot be denied that this employment of the term has merit, and, as we shall argue immediately below, it may also be useful in empirical research when the values under consideration are taken as data rather than desiderata.

(5) Is alienation bad? The psychological experience of alienation is undoubtedly unpleasant, but, to continue the same line of argument just opened, perhaps self-satisfaction with an inferior Self is worse. If self-satisfaction is a function of internalized standards, then the more trivial the standards the easier is self-satisfaction achieved. Conversely, the experience of alienation may be the mark of the possession of lofty goals. As such it is the normal response of the healthy person in situations which could be demeaning; alienation, as it were, insulates him from the de-humanizing situation and thus serves as a protective reaction. The factory worker who lowers his standards of Self to match

the assembly-line-Ke, on the other hand, virtually equates himself with the machine--a state of affairs far removed from the Western notion of man as autonomous, activistic, etc. Similarly the student who equates himself with the task-performances elicited by the school may be in worse shape than the student who sets higher educational goals for himself.

Research Implications

It is clear that our current empirical measures of alienation and involvement are quite inadequate, but it is equally clear that this dimension is too important to be neglected. The present report has suggested one direction in which future methodological and conceptual work might profitably be channeled, but we would be the last to claim that this is the only channel; it just seems promising. We do claim, however, that overly positivistic techniques of measurement are not yet in order: Before we can develop quantitative measures of alienation and involvement we must do much more conceptual and exploratory work, and then gradually, through the usual dialectic of science, intuitively grasped concept and operational measure may eventually match. As it is, we seem to have leaped from a vague description of alienation (which may nevertheless reflect, vaguely, a very important dimension of human experience) to highly specific operational measures which, despite their precision, do not necessarily measure what we originally had in mind.

Yet the traditional view of alienation may well be one of the most important social-psychological parameters of both organizational and educational theory; this, at any rate, is the possibility that originally led us to undertake this study, and our findings have served to increase our interest. Of particular importance for future educational research is our inability to assess the task-orientation that seems to pervade the better modern high school. One interpretation might be that all is well here, since the students make high marks on their tests, gain admission to top universities, and, doubtless, go on to become leaders of the community. But another interpretation would have it that East and West Highs are engaged in a massive processing operation, with relatively passive students dutifully performing tasks but quite failing to have the educational experiences that modern pedagogy seeks. If this is the case--it may not be, but we cannot afford to assume that it isn't--then even our best schools are falling so far short of the mark that only a "qualitative revolution" could remedy the situation.[18]

Whether or not our findings are susceptible to such horrendous interpretations, though, we would still submit that success in school is in large part a function of successful organizational adaptation, that competence in organizational behaviors as well as in educational ones is an ingredient--and an important ingredient--of "getting ahead" through education. Conversely, it may well be that many students who fail in school do so more because they are organizationally incompetent than because they are academically unmotivated or inept.[19]

For organizational theory, the "institutional paternalism" of the school poses some interesting problems. Faith in organizational leadership, for example, may well be more important than--or at least the functional equivalent of--rational involvement for the organizational member, and thus ignorance, in many instances, is an improvement over clarity. In the same vein, any organizational characteristic which is thought to be relevant to worker involvement should be re-assessed in the light of its impact on self-evaluation: Granting functionaries a voice in organizational policy, for example, need not have beneficial results, nor, for that matter, need the possession of power by top management be the determining element in the familiar tendency for such persons to be more involved in their work.

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[18] The reference is to Francis Keppel, The Necessary Revolution in American Education (N. Y.: Harper and Row, 1966).

[19] It so happens that the family and subculture of the American middle class better equip youngsters for organizational survival than do the experiences of lower class children. One implied corrective, therefore, for social class differences in educational success would be some sort of "remedial" training designed to help poor children become better organizational functionaries. See: Buford Rhea, "The Bureaucracy of the School and Disadvantaged Children," talk to be given to the Workshop on Disadvantaged Youth, Haverhill Public and Vocational Schools and the New England Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, June, 1966; and Buford Rhea, "Class Differences in Organizational Aptitude," to be presented to the Teacher Community Service Program, Human Rights Commission of the Archdiocese of Boston and the Catholic Interracial Council, July, 1966, and slated for later publication.

More important than these considerations, though, is the larger issue raised in the preceding section: Should we want organizational functionaries to be involved in their work? Perhaps not, for if they become involved in trivial work we may be guilty of producing trivial, albeit satisfied, people; and if this is the product of either school or factory, then alienation is vastly to be preferred.

These, then, are some of the problems raised by this study, and we believe that they are important problems requiring further investigation. It has become almost ritualistic to end research papers with the phrase, "More work needs to be done," but in the present instance we cannot avoid it.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

BOSTON COLLEGE STUDENT OPINION SURVEY
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
REVISED FORM

1. How do you like (West) High? What are the best things about it? The worst? If you were in charge, what would you change?

2. What do you plan to do when you graduate? (How sure are you? Is this what you would like to do?)

3. Are the courses you take here helpful; do they advance you toward your goals? Are there any additional courses you would like to take? Any you would rather not?

4. What is a good class like? Describe an ideal one. A poor one. What do you actually do when you are involved in a course? (Outside reading, etc.?)

5. What does it take to succeed here? How can a student get in trouble? How do you go about scheduling your time, balancing course requirements, etc.? Do you work for the grade or for knowledge?

6. Do your courses bring out the best in you? Are they challenging, boring, or interesting? Is there enough variety? Are the courses sufficiently related to each other? When do you get a feeling of accomplishment?

7. How much freedom should a student have? How does this school compare? (Be specific about time schedules, homework, required readings, discussion in class, student government.)

8. Is the school too big, too small, or about right? Do you get enough personal attention?

9. Do you feel that you know what is expected of you at all times?

10. Would you like to add anything about your feelings toward school and school work?

APPENDIX II

This questionnaire is part of a study being conducted at Boston College which seeks to determine how students feel about certain aspects of the school experience. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to the questions below; all that is sought is your honest opinion.

Your questionnaire will be treated confidentially, that is, your answers to these questions will be seen only by the professional research staff at Boston College, so feel free to be as frank as you wish. Any results which will be made public will be in tabular form, for example, "70% of the students think thus-and-so;" you as an individual will never be identified. You are asked to sign your name to the questionnaire only so that the research team can obtain further information from the file (your grade average, etc.).

It is hoped that this study will lead to improving schools throughout the country, so the information you provide us with will be both useful and of far-reaching importance.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Dr. Buford Rhea
Project Director
Boston College Student Survey

BOSTON COLLEGE STUDENT SURVEY

Personal Information

Name: ____________________

1. Age

f:

25 - 14 or less
309 - 15
374 - 16
330 - 17
66 - 18 or more
8 - N.A.

2. Sex

f:

522 - Male
581 - Female
9 - N.A.

3. Year in School

f:

364 - Sophomores
359 - Juniors
389 - Seniors

4. Have you ever attended another High School?

f:

158 - Yes
945 - No
9 - N.A.

5. Do you plan to go to college when you graduate? (Do not consider military service or other interim jobs.)

f:

1022 - Yes
79 - No
11 - N.A.

How sure are you?

f:

591 - Certain
237 - Very sure
229 - Fairly sure
44 - Not very sure
11 - N.A.

6. What do you plan to be when you complete all of your education?

(Not coded)

How sure are you?

f:

186 - Certain
277 - Very sure
348 - Fairly sure
206 - Not very sure
95 - N.A.

Agreement - Disagreement

The following statements express opinions about school work at this school with which you may agree or disagree. Indicate how much you agree or disagree by circling one of the numbers on the appropriate side of the scale - "3" if you agree or disagree strongly, "2" if you are in substantial agreement or disagreement with the statement, and "1" if you only slightly agree or disagree. The "0" represents no opinion or no particular feeling either way.

1. The main reason for going to high school is to get the diploma; it is your passport to a good job or to college.

f:	245	266	152	17	90	172	163	N: 1105
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(22.2)	(24.1)	(13.8)	(1.5)	(8.1)	(15.6)	(14.8)	N.A.: 7

2. I believe the authorities here know better than I do what line of study I should follow; otherwise they wouldn't be authorities.

f:	98	210	185	49	137	182	249	N: 1110
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(8.8)	(18.9)	(16.7)	(4.4)	(12.3)	(16.4)	(22.4)	N.A.: 2

3. There is too much emphasis here on grades and "success" rather than on true learning.

f:	430	304	140	41	55	85	52	N: 1107
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(38.8)	(27.5)	(12.6)	(3.7)	(5.0)	(7.7)	(4.7)	N.A.: 5

4. A person can always find friends at this school if he wants to.

f:	553	262	107	28	59	46	50	N: 1105
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(50.0)	(23.7)	(9.7)	(2.5)	(5.3)	(4.2)	(4.5)	N.A.: 7

5. What we do in school seems unreal; it has little to do with the important problems of living.

f:	65	117	152	67	104	307	294	N: 1106
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(5.9)	(10.6)	(13.7)	(6.1)	(9.4)	(27.8)	(26.6)	N.A.: 6

6. There are too many unnecessary rules and regulations here.

f:	132	138	157	88	140	257	190	N: 1102
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(12.0)	(12.5)	(14.2)	(8.0)	(12.7)	(23.3)	(17.2)	N.A.: 10

7. I think it is a good idea if students, as a sign of respect, stand up when the teacher enters the classroom.

f:	50	32	48	120	77	187	609	N: 1103
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(2.7)	(2.9)	(4.3)	(10.9)	(7.0)	(17.0)	(55.2)	N.A.: 9

8. Personality, pull, and bluff get students through many courses.

f:	156	198	236	67	85	179	186	N: 1107
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(14.1)	(17.9)	(21.3)	(6.1)	(7.7)	(16.2)	(16.8)	N.A.: 5

9. Although I usually know what to do in school, I frequently don't know why I'm supposed to do it.

f:	85	173	181	111	124	254	178	N: 1106
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(7.7)	(15.6)	(16.4)	(10.0)	(11.2)	(23.0)	(16.1)	N.A.: 6

10. I am proud to be a student here.

f:	605	231	73	111	22	24	33	N: 1099
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(55.1)	(21.0)	(6.6)	(10.1)	(2.0)	(2.2)	(3.0)	N.A.: 13

11. There is little or nothing the student can do to change things; student government is rather meaningless here.

f:	111	118	93	64	117	297	301	N: 1101
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(10.1)	(10.7)	(8.4)	(5.8)	(10.6)	(27.0)	(27.3)	N.A.: 11

12. Too much of the work here is meaningless; much of it is "make-work" with no particular point.

f:	50	103	119	67	151	374	242	N: 1106
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(4.5)	(9.3)	(10.8)	(6.1)	(13.7)	(33.8)	(21.9)	N.A.: 6

13. One of the big problems here is finding enough time to do a good job. There is more emphasis on quantity than quality.

f:	121	151	139	85	124	255	219	N: 1094
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(11.1)	(13.8)	(12.7)	(7.8)	(11.3)	(23.3)	(20.0)	N.A.: 18

14. Most of the staff here are not interested in students' personal problems.

f:	110	125	125	95	128	277	241	N: 1101
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(10.0)	(11.4)	(11.4)	(8.6)	(11.6)	(25.2)	(21.9)	N.A.: 11

15. This school is very democratic; your standing is determined by what you do, not by what your family is.

f:	443	288	95	70	55	70	79	N: 1100
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(40.3)	(26.2)	(8.6)	(6.4)	(5.0)	(6.4)	(7.2)	N.A.: 12

16. The sequences of courses is well organized here; what is learned at one time is followed up in later courses.

f:	366	397	138	75	59	52	16	N: 1103
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(33.2)	(36.0)	(12.5)	(6.8)	(5.3)	(4.7)	(1.5)	N.A.: 9

17. The content of courses is well organized here; material in one course is related to material in others, but there is no unnecessary repitition.

f:	141	329	188	124	138	132	57	N: 1109
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(12.7)	(29.7)	(17.0)	(11.2)	(12.4)	(11.9)	(5.2)	N.A.: 3

18. Students are treated too much like children at this school.

f:	66	113	123	65	131	336	268	N: 1102
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(6.0)	(10.3)	(11.2)	(5.9)	(11.9)	(30.5)	(24.3)	N.A.: 10

19. What we do in high school is essentially preparation for what will come later; the pay-off will be in college or on the job.

f:	536	342	106	31	29	31	33	N: 1108
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(48.4)	(30.9)	(9.6)	(2.8)	(2.6)	(2.8)	(3.0)	N.A.: 4

20. There are high standards of justice here: Grades are fair, punishments are justified, the student's side of each case is listened to, etc.

f:	194	313	169	96	114	128	87	N: 1101
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(17.6)	(28.4)	(15.3)	(8.7)	(10.4)	(11.6)	(7.9)	N.A.: 11

21. I feel that the teachers and administrators here are working for my best interests.

f:	303	384	185	88	64	44	33	N: 1101
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(27.5)	(34.9)	(16.8)	(8.0)	(5.8)	(4.0)	(3.0)	N.A.: 11

22. Generally speaking, classroom discussion is an illusion; it is controlled by the teacher and must conclude with the answer he already has in mind.

f:	136	164	140	47	99	226	288	N: 1100
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(12.4)	(14.9)	(12.7)	(4.3)	(9.0)	(20.5)	(26.2)	N.A.: 12

23. My desire to learn is not satisfied by the work I do here; I often feel held back by a course rather than stimulated to greater efforts by it.

f:	105	140	164	168	129	232	168	N: 1106
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(9.5)	(12.6)	(14.8)	(15.2)	(11.7)	(21.0)	(15.2)	N.A.: 6

24. A small group of students run the activities here and you can't do anything unless you're in with them.

f:	188	138	141	84	106	225	217	N: 1099
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(17.1)	(12.6)	(12.8)	(7.6)	(9.6)	(20.5)	(19.7)	N.A.: 13

25. One thing wrong with this school is that a lot of students don't behave themselves well enough.

f:	135	172	199	132	136	208	123	N: 1105
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(12.2)	(15.6)	(18.0)	(11.9)	(12.3)	(18.8)	(11.1)	N.A.: 7

26. One thing wrong with this school is the number of conformists among the students.

f:	163	143	145	223	114	178	136	N: 1102
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(14.8)	(13.0)	(13.2)	(20.2)	(10.3)	(16.2)	(12.3)	N.A.: 10

27. This school is too formal and impersonal.

f:	41	64	97	94	197	338	274	N: 1105
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(3.7)	(5.8)	(8.8)	(8.5)	(17.8)	(30.6)	(24.8)	N.A.: 7

28. Emphasis here is too much on surface performance rather than real education; it's not important what you really know, just look alert and give the right answers.

f:	136	196	196	80	110	222	162	N: 1102
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(12.3)	(17.8)	(17.8)	(7.3)	(10.0)	(20.1)	(14.7)	N.A.: 10

29. There isn't enough variety in high school study; you just read the book, study the notes, do the assignments, and take the tests, over and over again.

f:	258	282	200	46	107	127	85	N: 1105
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(23.3)	(25.5)	(18.1)	(4.2)	(9.7)	(11.5)	(7.7)	N.A.: 7

30. The big questions are not handled in school; high school deals mainly with non-controversial and trivial things.

f:	55	100	123	136	168	322	199	N: 1103
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(5.0)	(9.1)	(11.2)	(12.3)	(15.2)	(29.2)	(18.0)	N.A.: 9

31. Students should be sufficiently supervised so that their mistakes have no serious consequences.

f:	169	254	178	156	111	140	93	N: 1101
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(15.3)	(23.1)	(16.2)	(14.2)	(10.1)	(12.7)	(8.4)	N.A.: 11

32. Compared to other schools, this school provides a first-rate education.

f:	623	276	76	85	17	13	10	N: 1100
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(56.6)	(25.1)	(6.9)	(7.7)	(1.5)	(1.2)	(0.9)	N.A.: 12

33. I have a very clear idea of exactly what I want to be twenty years from now.

f:	203	143	89	83	79	140	366	N: 1103
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(18.4)	(13.0)	(8.1)	(7.5)	(7.2)	(12.7)	(33.2)	N.A.: 9

34. Students have too little responsibility for their own education here.

f:	69	115	149	123	142	301	203	N: 1102
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(6.3)	(10.4)	(13.5)	(11.2)	(12.9)	(27.3)	(18.4)	N.A.: 10

35. I usually feel challenged in my school work; my potential ideas and skills are well used.

f:	103	264	245	113	146	144	88	N: 1103
Agree	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	Disagree
%:	(9.3)	(23.9)	(22.2)	(10.2)	(13.2)	(13.1)	(8.0)	N.A.: 9

Multiple Choice (Check one)

1. How often do you violate regulations? (Cut class, make up a phony excuse, smoke, etc.)

f:		%:
49	Often	4.5
151	Sometimes	13.7
335	Rarely	30.5
565	Never, or almost never	51.4
12	N.A.	
		(N: 1100)

2. Which of these statements comes closest to describing how you feel about your school work?

f:		%:
59	My work is interesting nearly all the time.	5.3
718	While my work is interesting most of the time, there are some dull stretches now and then.	64.9
298	My work is interesting some of the time, but most of it is pretty dull and monotonous.	26.9
31	My work is almost entirely dull and monotonous; there is little interesting about it.	2.8
6	N.A.	
		(N: 1106)

3. Students sometimes remark that although their assigned work is in itself interesting or important to them, they do not find it satisfactory at the particular time that it is required, though at some other time they would be glad to do it and would benefit a great deal from it. Do you ever run into this problem of timing?

f:		%:
129	Often	11.7
597	Sometimes	54.4
295	Rarely	26.9
77	Never, or almost never	7.0
14	N.A.	
		(N: 1098)

4. Do you ever feel like disagreeing with what your teachers want you to do or how they want you to do it?

f:		%:
284	Often	25.6
686	Sometimes	61.9
119	Rarely	10.7
20	Never, or almost never	1.8
3	N.A.	

(N: 1109)

5. How often do you tell your teachers or members of the administration your own ideas about how things might be done?

f:		%:
69	Often	6.2
281	Sometimes	25.3
455	Rarely	41.0
304	Never, or almost never	27.4
3	N.A.	

(N: 1109)

Forced-Choice Questions

The answers you would normally give to the questions below would probably be "both" or "neither." Nevertheless, try to make a choice if possible. If you simply cannot, leave the question blank.

1. If you knew that you were flunking a course, but could pass if you cheated, and if there was little or no danger of being caught, what would you do?

f:		% all:	% answering:
357	Cheat	32.1	38.1
580	Flunk	52.2	61.9
175	N.A.	15.7	

(N: 937)

2. If you knew that a teacher had misunderstood or misinterpreted a point, but you could not convince him that he was wrong, would you give the right answer on his examination and take the consequences, or would you give the wrong answer that he wanted?

f:		% all:	% answering:
553	Give the right answer	49.7	51.5
520	Give the answer he wanted	46.8	48.5
39	N.A.	3.5	

(N: 1073)

3. Which would you rather get out of school (including college), a poor education and a good job or a good education and a poor job?

f:		% all	% answering:
536	Good education	48.2	54.3
452	Good job	40.6	45.7
124	N.A.	11.2	

(N: 988)

4. In studying, do you try to get top grades in your important subjects, even if it means poorer grades in others, or do you try to get a good over-all average, even if it means getting less on important subjects?

f:		% all:	% answering:
318	Top grades in important subjects	28.6	30.3
730	High over-all average	65.6	69.7

	f:		% all:	% answering:
4. continued	64	N.A.	5.8	
				(N: 1048)

5. Which of the following do you think is more important for success in this school?

	f:		% all:	% answering:
A.	375	Conformity	33.7	36.5
	652	or originality	58.6	63.5
	85	N.A.	7.6	
				(N: 1027)
B.	898	Knowing the subject	80.8	84.2
	169	or knowing the teacher	15.2	15.8
	45	N.A.	4.0	
				(N: 1067)
C.	903	Hard work	81.2	85.3
	155	or natural brilliance	13.9	14.7
	54	N.A.	4.9	
				(N: 1058)
D.	323	Good personality	29.0	31.8
	694	or hard work	62.4	68.2
	95	N.A.	8.5	
				(N: 1017)
E.	833	Ability to express yourself	74.9	79.9
	210	or knowledge	18.9	20.1
	69	N.A.	6.2	
				(N: 1043)
F.	351	Character	31.6	33.8
	688	or performance	61.9	66.2
	73	N.A.	6.6	
				(N: 1039)

Assessments

In this section you are asked to evaluate various aspects of your school experience by attaching a grade to them. Use the following grade systed: A - Excellent B - Good C - Average D - Poor and E - Failure.

1. How accurate a picture do you think your school record, on file with the administration, give of you in the following respects?

	f:	%:
Knowledge acquired (both in class and on your own)		
A.	63	5.9
B.	419	39.3
C.	427	40.1
D.	132	12.4
E.	24	2.3
N.A.	47	
N:	1065	
Avg.:	3.34	
Potentialities as a student (esp. for admission to college)		
A.	118	11.2
B.	440	41.6
C.	346	32.7
D.	128	12.1
E.	25	2.4
N.A.	55	
N:	1057	
Avg.:	3.47	
For purposes of employment		
A.	90	8.6
B.	526	50.0
C.	327	31.1
D.	89	8.5
E.	20	1.9
N.A.	60	
N:	1052	
Avg.:	3.55	
As a person		
A.	73	6.9
B.	386	36.6
C.	332	31.5
D.	161	15.3
E.	101	9.6
N.A.	59	
N:	1053	
Avg.:	3.16	

2. How important do you think the grades you make are to:

Your parents

	f:	%:
A.	548	51.4
B.	396	37.1
C.	88	8.2
D.	25	2.3
E.	10	0.9
N.A.	45	

N: 1067
Avg.: 4.36

Your friends

	f:	%:
A.	44	4.2
B.	243	23.0
C.	506	47.9
D.	169	16.0
E.	95	9.0
N.A.	55	

N: 1057
Avg.: 2.97

Potential employers

	f:	%:
A.	412	39.3
B.	478	45.6
C.	138	13.2
D.	16	1.5
E.	5	0.5
N.A.	63	

N: 1049
Avg.: 4.22

You personally

	f:	%:
A.	402	38.1
B.	403	38.1
C.	168	16.0
D.	32	3.0
E.	50	4.7
N.A.	57	

N: 1055
Avg.: 4.02

3. How satisfactory has your experience been here with the following?

	f:	%:
Quality of teachers		
A.	265	25.0
B.	538	50.8
C.	212	20.0
D.	30	2.8
E.	14	1.3
N.A.	53	
N:	1059	
Avg.:	3.95	
Classmates (in school)		
A.	299	28.1
B.	545	51.3
C.	158	14.9
D.	41	3.9
E.	20	1.9
N.A.	49	
N:	1063	
Avg.:	4.00	
Extra-curricular activities		
A.	225	21.2
B.	380	35.8
C.	284	26.8
D.	114	10.8
E.	57	5.4
N.A.	52	
N:	1060	
Avg.:	3.57	
Administration		
A.	146	13.8
B.	449	42.5
C.	335	31.7
D.	80	7.6
E.	47	4.4
N.A.	55	
N:	1057	
Avg.:	3.54	

Subjects studied

A.	158	14.9
B.	567	53.4
C.	280	26.4
D.	43	4.1
E.	13	1.2
N.A.	51	

N: 1061
Avg.: 3.77

4. How reasonable do you think the following are at this school? In each instance complete satisfaction is probably impossible, but, all things considered, is this school doing as well as can be reasonably expected? For example, food here might rate pretty low compared to home cooking, but how does it compare with other organizations feeding large quantities of people at this price? And so on for the rest.

Dining service

	f:	%:
A.	210	19.6
B.	542	50.6
C.	249	23.2
D.	57	5.3
E.	14	1.3
N.A.	40	

N: 1072
Avg.: 3.82

Attendance requirements

A.	183	17.3
B.	551	52.0
C.	258	24.3
D.	44	4.2
E.	24	2.3
N.A.	52	

N: 1060
Avg.: 3.78

Curricular regulations (number of required courses versus electives)

A.	295	27.8
B.	544	51.2
C.	188	17.7
D.	24	2.3
E.	12	1.1
N.A.	49	

N: 1063
Avg.: 4.02

Matching of courses and your personal interests

A.	181	16.9
B.	447	42.0
C.	330	31.0
D.	78	7.3
E.	29	2.7
N.A.	47	

N: 1065
Avg.: 3.63

Behavioral rules (concerning dress, smoking, etc.)

A.	142	13.4
B.	421	39.6
C.	292	27.5
D.	128	12.1
E.	79	7.4
N.A.	50	

N: 1062
Avg.: 3.39

APPENDIX III

Percentage distributions of responses of West High students not going to college (N: 79).

BOSTON COLLEGE STUDENT SURVEY

Personal Information

Name: ______________________________

1. Age

%:

21.5 - 15
19.0 - 16
29.1 - 17
30.4 - 18 or more

2. Sex

%:

47.4 - Male
52.6 - Female
[redacted]

3. Year in School

%:

30.4 - Sophomores
22.8 - Juniors
46.8 - Seniors

4. Have you ever attended another High School?

%:

89.8 - Yes
10.2 - No

5. Do you plan to go to college when you graduate? (Do not consider military service or other interim jobs.)

%:

100 - No

How sure are you?

%:

36.7 - Certain
20.3 - Very sure
31.6 - Fairly sure
11.4 - Not very sure

6. What do you plan to be when you complete all of your education?

(Not coded)

How sure are you?

%:

35.1 - Certain
28.4 - Very sure
20.3 - Fairly sure
16.2 - Not very sure

Agreement - Disagreement

The following statements express opinions about school work at this school with which you may agree or disagree. Indicate how much you agree or disagree by circling one of the numbers on the appropriate side of the scale - "3" if you agree or disagree strongly, "2" if you are in substantial agreement or disagreement with the statement, and "1" if you only slightly agree or disagree. The "0" represents no opinion or no particular feeling either way.

Question:	Agree 3	2	1	0	1	2	3 Disagree	N.A.
AD 1.	(46.1)	(15.8)	(9.2)	(2.6)	(10.5)	(10.5)	(5.3)	3
AD 2.	(14.1)	(15.4)	(16.7)	(7.7)	(5.1)	(16.7)	(24.4)	1
AD 3.	(37.7)	(29.9)	(6.5)	(3.9)	(5.2)	(6.5)	(10.4)	2
AD 4.	(50.6)	(19.5)	(11.7)	(2.6)	(2.6)	(5.2)	(7.8)	2
AD 5.	(11.7)	(18.2)	(15.6)	(6.5)	(11.7)	(20.8)	(15.6)	2
AD 6.	(11.7)	(10.4)	(22.1)	(9.1)	(11.7)	(19.5)	(15.6)	2
AD 7.	(5.2)	(2.6)	(6.5)	(9.1)	(6.5)	(16.9)	(53.2)	2
AD 8.	(19.5)	(24.7)	(10.4)	(5.2)	(6.5)	(11.7)	(22.1)	2
AD 9.	(13.0)	(20.8)	(13.0)	(18.2)	(13.0)	(11.7)	(10.4)	2
AD 10.	(44.2)	(22.1)	(7.8)	(14.3)	(6.5)	(2.6)	(2.6)	2
AD 11.	(9.2)	(14.5)	(11.8)	(6.6)	(11.8)	(30.3)	(15.8)	3
AD 12.	(11.7)	(14.3)	(11.7)	(10.4)	(7.8)	(23.4)	(20.8)	2
AD 13.	(13.2)	(13.2)	(11.8)	(15.8)	(14.5)	(18.4)	(13.2)	3
AD 14.	(20.8)	(18.2)	(13.0)	(2.6)	(7.8)	(19.5)	(18.2)	2
AD 15.	(35.1)	(20.8)	(10.4)	(6.5)	(1.3)	(9.1)	(16.9)	2
AD 16.	(30.8)	(29.5)	(12.9)	(11.5)	(3.8)	(6.4)	(5.1)	1
AD 17.	(17.9)	(21.8)	(14.1)	(15.4)	(6.4)	(14.1)	(10.3)	1
AD 18.	(7.7)	(16.7)	(11.5)	(9.0)	(9.0)	(21.8)	(24.4)	1
AD 19.	(47.4)	(17.9)	(14.1)	(3.8)	(2.6)	(5.1)	(9.0)	1
AD 20.	(19.5)	(20.7)	(10.4)	(7.8)	(9.1)	(14.3)	(18.2)	2
AD 21.	(21.8)	(24.4)	(19.2)	(7.7)	(11.5)	(7.7)	(7.7)	1

Question: continued	Agree 3	2	1	0	1	2	3 Disagree	N.A.
AD 22.	(19.2)	(20.5)	(14.1)	(10.3)	(6.4)	(14.1)	(15.4)	1
AD 23.	(14.1)	(10.3)	(11.5)	(20.5)	(12.8)	(19.2)	(11.5)	1
AD 24.	(23.4)	(9.1)	(16.9)	(9.1)	(3.9)	(19.5)	(18.2)	2
AD 25.	(16.9)	(16.9)	(13.0)	(14.3)	(11.7)	(18.2)	(9.1)	2
AD 26.	(9.0)	(7.7)	(15.4)	(37.2)	(12.8)	(11.5)	(6.4)	1
AD 27.	(10.5)	(7.9)	(5.3)	(9.2)	(15.8)	(27.6)	(23.7)	3
AD 28.	(16.7)	(16.7)	(6.4)	(15.4)	(9.0)	(19.2)	(16.7)	1
AD 29.	(26.0)	(24.7)	(15.6)	(2.6)	(7.8)	(9.1)	(14.3)	2
AD 30.	(3.8)	(7.7)	(16.7)	(25.6)	(9.0)	(30.8)	(6.4)	1
AD 31.	(20.5)	(15.4)	(10.3)	(20.5)	(9.0)	(16.7)	(7.7)	1
AD 32.	(40.3)	(31.2)	(10.4)	(9.1)	(3.9)	(2.6)	(2.6)	2
AD 33.	(29.9)	(5.2)	(9.1)	(9.1)	(10.4)	(15.6)	(20.8)	2
AD 34.	(7.8)	(13.0)	(19.5)	(14.3)	(7.8)	(18.2)	(19.5)	2
AD 35.	(10.3)	(19.2)	(16.7)	(16.7)	(12.8)	(12.8)	(11.5)	1

Multiple Choice (Check one)

Question:

MC 1. %:

7.7 - Often
25.6 - Sometimes
26.9 - Rarely
39.7 - Never, or almost never
N.A.: 1

MC 2. %:

3.9 - Nearly all the time
40.3 - Dull now and then
42.9 - Pretty dull and monotonous
13.0 - Almost entirely dull and monotonous
N.A.: 2

MC 3. %:

15.4 - Often
53.8 - Sometimes
21.8 - Rarely
9.0 - Never, or almost never
N.A.: 1

MC 4. %:

27.3 - Often
64.9 - Sometimes
6.5 - Rarely
1.3 - Never, or almost never
N.A.: 2

MC 5. %:

3.8 - Often
17.9 - Sometimes
38.5 - Rarely
39.7 - Never, or almost never
N.A.: 1

Forced-Choice Questions

The answers you would normally give to the questions below would probably be "both" or "neither." Nevertheless, try to make a choice if possible. If you simply cannot, leave the question blank.

Question:

FC 1. %:

30.4 - Cheat
58.2 - Flunk
11.4 - N.A.

FC 2. %:

63.3 - Give the right answer
32.9 - Give the answer he wanted
3.8 - N.A.

FC 3. %:

22.8 - Good education
67.1 - Good job
10.1 - N.A.

FC 4. %:

32.9 - Top grades in important subjects
53.2 - High over-all average
13.9 - N.A.

FC 5. %:

A. 26.6 - Conformity
57.0 - Originality
16.5 - N.A.

B. 74.7 - Knowing the subject
17.7 - Knowing the teacher
7.6 - N.A.

C. 68.4 - Hard work
21.5 - Natural brilliance
10.1 - N.A.

D. 36.7 - Good personality
50.6 - Hard work
12.7 - N.A.

E. 62.0 - Ability to express yourself
31.6 - Knowledge
6.3 - N.A.

FC 5.
continued

F. 35.4 - Character
57.0 - Performance
7.6 - N.A.

Assessments

In this section you are asked to evaluate various aspects of your school experience by attaching a grade to them. Use the following grade system: A - Excellent B - Good C - Average D - Poor and E - Failure.

Question:

A 1. %:

Knowledge

A.	1.5
B.	22.7
C.	59.1
D.	12.1
E.	4.5

Avg[illegible]3.05

Potentialities as a student

A.	4.6
B.	24.6
C.	50.8
D.	13.8
E.	6.2

Avg.: 3.08

For purposes of employment

A.	7.6
B.	48.5
C.	36.4
D.	4.5
E.	3.0

Avg.: 3.53

As a person

A.	3.0
B.	34.8
C.	43.9
D.	12.1
E.	6.1

Avg.: 3.17

A 2. %:

Parents

A.	44.8
B.	35.8
C.	11.9
D.	7.5
E.	0

Avg.: 4.18

A 2.
continued

Friends

A.	3.0
B.	22.7
C.	45.5
D.	19.7
E.	9.1

Avg.: 2.91

Employers

A.	37.5
B.	37.5
C.	18.8
D.	4.7
E.	1.6

Avg.: 4.05

Personally

A.	21.9
B.	40.6
C.	21.9
D.	9.4
E.	6.3

Avg.: 3.63

A 3. %:

Teachers

A.	12.5
B.	51.6
C.	26.6
D.	4.7
E.	4.7

Avg.: 3.63

Classmates

A.	10.9
B.	53.1
C.	28.1
D.	6.3
E.	1.6

Avg.: 3.66

A 3.
continued

Extra-curricular activities

A. 0
B. 24.6
C. 32.3
D. 23.1
E. 20.0

Avg.: 2.62

Administration

A. 11.1
B. 25.4
C. 42.8
D. 11.1
E. 9.5

Avg.: 3.17

Subjects

A. 3.1
B. 33.8
C. 47.7
D. 9.2
E. 6.2

Avg.: 3.18

A 4. %:

Dining service

A. 11.9
B. 43.3
C. 31.3
D. 10.4
E. 3.0

Avg.: 3.51

Attendance requirements

A. 10.6
B. 54.5
C. 22.7
D. 7.6
E. 4.5

Avg.: 3.59

A 4.
continued

Curricular regulations

A.	12.5
B.	48.4
C.	21.9
D.	7.8
E.	9.4

Avg.: 3.47

Matching your personal interests

A.	9.1
B.	34.8
C.	37.9
D.	12.1
E.	6.1

Avg.: 3.29

Behavioral rules

A.	10.8
B.	30.8
C.	30.8
D.	13.8
E.	13.8

Avg.: 3.11